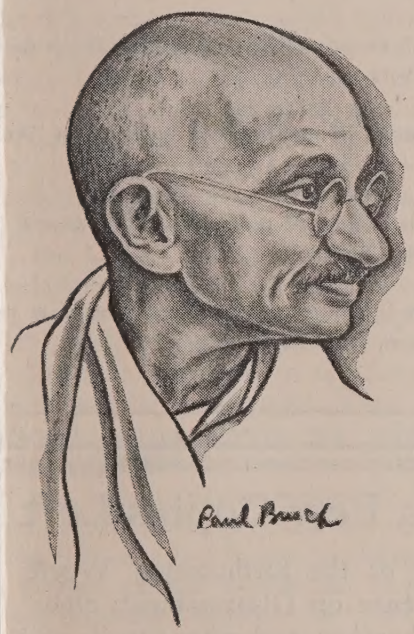
The World Tomorrow

DECEMBER, 1931



Why Voluntary Poverty?

M. K. GANDHI

Kagawa As a Pacifist

KATSUO TAKENAKA

AVERTING ANOTHER WORLD WAR

A Symposium

Pacifism in the World Crisis

DEVERE ALLEN

Imperialist Aggression in Manchuria

PAUL PORTER

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The World Tomorrow

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Who's Who in This Issue

Paul Porter, who is field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, has recently returned from Manchuria.

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The World Tomorrow

Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV December, 1931 No. 12

Editorials

What Could Be Done in Manchuria?

At this moment the League's course of action with gard to the situation in Manchuria has not been re- aled. Instead of indulging in prophecy, we should te to outline what we think would be an effective ocedure. First, Japan must be given assurance that e utmost pressure will be brought to bear upon China afford adequate protection for Japanese property d life in Manchuria and elsewhere in China. Sec- d, the League should make it unmistakably clear at Japanese troops must be recalled to the railway ne within a specified time period, with the emphatic rning that unless military intervention is speedily andoned, the members of the League will institute diplomatic boycott against Japan, withdrawing all bassadors and consuls and refusing to receive panese officials.

If the League should vigorously advocate such a licy, Japan would probably be compelled to yield. not, then as a last resort, the League could request e various nations to institute an embargo against rtain Japanese commodities. We believe that a *ockade* would constitute the worst kind of a war and are opposed to such a drastic procedure. On the her hand, it is possible to declare an embargo against ports of Japanese raw silk and other commodities at would bring extreme financial pressure to bear on Japan without directly causing starvation. Cer- inly, Japan could not long withstand a united em- rgo by the chief European nations and the United ates. In our judgment this latter procedure would t be necessary, but would be justifiable as a last re- rt. Patience will undoubtedly be required as the panese will not easily rereat from the position they ve taken.

When one asks why the League does not adopt such course as we have outlined, the reasons are fairly vious. The Japanese militarists, as distinguished m the civil government, will not be satisfied with stice in Manchuria. They undoubtedly desire out- ght annexation of this valuable province. The great wers are embarrassed in dealing with Japan because ey have themselves intervened so frequently with med troops in the affairs of other countries. And in dealing with Japan they are extremely reluctant to adopt a course of action by which they themselves will be obliged to abandon the right of armed intervention.

On the other hand, the evidence is increasingly convincing that China will not permanently accept the armed occupation of Manchuria. Within the last few years nationalism of the most extreme variety has emerged and is rapidly spreading throughout that vast country. While that land is torn with civil war and ravaged by famine and lawlessness, the Chinese have two weapons which they will use with deadliness against Japan. The first is the economic boycott, at which they are past masters and through which they will

THE DEATH OF ONE OFFICER IS ABSOLUTELY INEXCUSABLE & UNEXPLAINABLE—
SO—THEY ORDER SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN TO KILL EACH OTHER—
PEACE TREATY
AND THAT OF COURSE MAKES EVERYTHING ALL RIGHT AGAIN!

Satisfying National Honor

The New York Herald Tribune

destroy more Japanese property than can possibly be protected with bayonets. An even more terrible weapon is chaos. The infuriated Chinese simply will not accept further Japanese aggression and, although they are unable to present effective armed opposition, by the boycott and inevitable chaos they will make it utterly impossible for Japan to profit by the military seizure of Manchuria. Moreover, the world has moved a long distance since the days when Korea was seized by Japan. The moral sentiment of the other nations cannot be ignored and probably will prove to be a decisive factor in preventing the incorporation of Manchuria into Japan.

Why the Round Table is Failing

As we go to press, it appears likely that the Round Table Conference will fail to reach an agreement concerning the future government of India. Many factors have combined to bring about a deadlock. The major difficulty is found in the irreconcilable difference between conservative British opinion and that of the Indian National Congress concerning the speed with which complete self-government for India is to be achieved. From the beginning of the negotiations, Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues have made it clear that they will accept nothing less than "the substance of independence," that is, a status similar to that of Canada and the other dominions. They are resolutely determined that they will no longer accept an inferior status for India. British public opinion, on the other hand, is equally determined that control of the vital aspects of government in India must be retained indefinitely by Great Britain. The reservations and safeguards demanded will, if secured, condemn India to continued inferiority for an unspecified period to some. The British are apparently willing to grant the *theory* of dominion status but not the present practice of genuine autonomy. As long as Britain reserves final control of defense, finance, and external relations, it will be obviously absurd to maintain that "the substance of independence" has been granted.

The British position has been greatly strengthened by the cleavages within India. The controversy between Hindus and Moslems is ominous, and even under the most favorable circumstances would be difficult of solution. The Moslems are enormously outnumbered and naturally fear that they will be victimized by Hindu rule. It is imperative that the rights of minorities be safeguarded, but there is grave doubt about communal voting as a solution for the problem. To vote as Hindus, untouchables, Moslems, Sikhs, and Christians, rather than as citizens of India, is to perpetrate and aggravate religious strife. That the policy of communal voting in India during recent years has greatly accentuated hostility between Hindus and Moslems is not open to question. It seems to us, therefore, that Mahatma Gandhi is right in rejecting the practi of voting according to religious belief. Mr. Gand further maintains that for the untouchables to vote untouchables will serve to deepen and perpetrate the degradation. He may be mistaken in this convictio but the genuine concern of the Mahatma for the ou casts has been proved by decades of service in the behalf, by breaking caste in eating constantly with u touchables, and by adopting an untouchable girl as h own daughter.

The Tory landslide in the recent election has enorr ously increased the probability that the Round Tab will end in failure. The British demand for saf guards has been stiffened, while the Moslems have bee encouraged in their stand for separate religious elect rates. Mr. Gandhi has become more convinced tha ever that the British are not prepared to grant imm diate independence, and that it will be necessary to r sume non-violent non-coöperation before freedom ca be secured.

To predict the future course of events is not eas But it seems probable that civil disobedience on a wid scale will be inaugurated, and the boycott made mo comprehensive and effective. Mr. Gandhi and tho sands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of his followe will doubtless be again imprisoned. With the Tori in power, efforts to suppress the Nationalist moveme are certain to become more ruthless. The demands the Indian National Congress, in turn, are likely to b come more extreme, with the probable result that d minion status will be rejected and only complete sep ration and freedom will be regarded as satisfactor There is a sound basis for Mr. Brailsford's observ tion that Mahatma Gandhi may yet wreck the Britis Empire.

Inadequacy of the American Dole

A staunch believer in the American system of ha dling unemployment misery by private charity recent wrote: "We must destroy the fear of insecurity serving notice definitely and conclusively, no matt what the cost may be, that an ample supply of foo stuffs will be furnished all unemployed American wag earners during this emergency." Under the leadersh of the President's Organization on Unemployment R lief, a vast campaign to secure gifts for the needy being promoted throughout the nation. Mr. Gifford committee has estimated that 170 million dollars w be required for unemployment relief in 314 cities, addition to the normal budget of 90 millions f charity in these cities. To secure this huge sum in gif will require an enormous expenditure of energy, ar after it is raised it will be utterly inadequate to co with the situation.

The number of unemployed in the United States the present time is estimated at six to eight million

addition there are millions of workers who are employed only part time. Wages and salaries have been reduced drastically and standards of living have fallen. This is the third winter of heavy unemployment, and reserves are exhausted or running low. If the President's committee succeeds in the endeavor to secure 70 millions for unemployment relief, this amount will make available $170 each for one million unemployed. That is to say, less than one unemployed person out of six will receive a bare subsistence for ten or twelve weeks!

President Hoover is opposed to Federal appropriations for relief purposes. Instead, he advocates the American plan of private charity. Some months ago he maintained that the Red Cross would be abundantly able to provide drought relief in the stricken areas. How adequately this task was accomplished is shown in a recent report of that society, which reveals that food and supplies were doled out to more than 500,000 persons during the period between August, 1930, and June, 1931. And the total amount expended by the Red Cross for relief purposes during this period was less than eleven million dollars—an average of less than five dollars per person!

The Government of the United States can afford to spend 700 million dollars annually on the current expenses of the Army and Navy. But Federal funds must not be spent in relieving the appalling human misery caused by unemployment and drought! At all hazards we must avoid the terrible mistake made by England in adopting the unemployment dole! Rather than inaugurate a rational and humane system of unemployment insurance—by means of a pool into which employers, employees, and the public treasury would make payments—believers in American capitalism prefer to subject millions of unfortunates to the humiliation and degradation of standing in breadlines and receiving handouts at soup kitchens. And all the charity combined will relieve only a small portion of the awful misery now being endured by multitudes of helpless victims.

The extent of poverty and destitution in the United States at this moment is appalling. Before us as we write is the "Tax Sale Section" of a daily newspaper of a city of half a million. Twenty-four pages of small type are required to advertise the pieces of property which are to be sold at public auction because tax payments are in arrears. In a single issue of one newspaper not less than 15,000 pieces of property are listed for sale to satisfy unpaid taxes! And yet, according to the *Monthly Survey of Business*, the dividend disbursements of American corporations in 1930 exceeded those of 1928 by 65 per cent!

Having failed to prepare properly for this terrible emergency, we cannot escape the necessity of making heavy charitable contributions in order to keep multitudes from actual starvation. The misery is too widespread and urgent to be met except by immediate relief. But it is high time for us to realize that charity is the worst form of the dole and that it solves no fundamental problems. Here and now we should highly resolve to work unceasingly for a more equitable division of the proceeds of industry and the inauguration of a national system of social insurance.

The Tory Victory

In the National Government landslide Ramsay MacDonald has won a Pyrrhic victory which may, in a sense, be regarded as the judgment meted out by an ironically inclined spirit of justice. What could be more perfect than to smother the apostate leader of the Labor Party in an avalanche of Tory parliamentarians? Mr. MacDonald's claim that he is still Labor was probably never too convincing, but the character of the recent election robs it of every degree of plausibility. The new English government, with Neville Chamberlain in the place of Philip Snowden, will certainly defy every law of politics if it preserves a "national character" when only a handful of Liberals and national Labor people leaven the lump of over 400 Tory members, many of them retired generals and titled ladies whose political prejudices belong to the Dark Ages. It is a question how long such a combination will accept the restraining influence MacDonald will undoubtedly try to assert. Perhaps the Tories will throw him overboard at the first opportunity. That would be a better fate than to have him attempt to preserve some kind of unity of purpose with the Tory benches in back of him until he has described the full arc of political shades and colors from left-wing Socialism through Liberal radicalism to modified Toryism.

But the pathetic personal drama of Mr. MacDonald interests us less than the political situation in Britain. By their defection MacDonald and Snowden have set the Labor party back almost a generation. They placed the government of England in the hands of conservatism at a time when there is danger that everything done for the solution of the Indian question may be wrecked through Tory intransigence, and when the peace of Europe, already hanging on a slender thread, will be imperiled by the uncompromising nationalism of the followers of Churchill, Rothermere, and Beaverbrook. What is even more important is the probability that the class struggle may now take on a note of unqualified conflict which many had hoped would be avoided in Britain. A stubborn Tory government will lead many a laborer, who had once hoped to build a just society by parliamentary means, into the camp of revolution. Moreover, should revolution break out in Germany, there is no longer any certainty that it can be avoided in Britain. Of course there is a possibility that the swing of the political pendulum will come quickly and wipe out the

present government. An effort to alter its "national" character to a more purely Tory form may meet with constitutional obstacles. Meanwhile, trade is reviving because Britain has left the gold standard, an eventuality which the formation of the National Government economics, and how much bankers are determining the policies of nations.

In the last analysis, the defection of Labor's most prominent parliamentary leaders must reveal to even the most casual observer the perils of all melioristic socialism. Evolutionary socialism seems to lack the emotional drive necessary to preserve unqualified loyalty. What MacDonald and Snowden have done is not unlike the policies of half a dozen French statesmen, the present Premier included. If its leaders inevitably go over to the bankers when the moment of crisis arises, Labor will sooner or later fashion a program and policy which will draw the battle line too sharply to permit the recurrence of such a possibility.

The Hoover-Laval Conversations

The conference between the French Premier and President Hoover produced nothing to reassure those who are concerned about the ominous world situation. Its chief result was the promise of America to take no iniative in regard to debts and reparations and to accept the Young Plan as basic for any future settlement of the reparations question. This agreement has been widely heralded in France as a French victory, and quite rightly. It means that Germany must continue the so-called unconditional payments of $157,000,000 per year, and that any moratorium which may be granted will not mean a permanent renunciation of any part of the debt.

Such a scheme might have been of some avail a year or two ago, but it is inadequate for the present situation. It will not only fail to halt the growth of revolutionary sentiment in Germany (which, according to recent municipal election returns, is mounting steadily), but it will fail to satisfy the bankers who have frozen German credits until February and who are disinclined to continue the credits so long as the reparation burdens remain. The interest of the bankers, as revealed particularly by Thomas Lamont's constant preoccupation with the reparations problem, may be a guarantee that every possible pressure will be brought to bear upon the French to lighten the reparations burden; but the promise made by Mr. Hoover has in all likelihood rendered impossible a sufficiently generous settlement to prevent the continued disintegration of the prestige of parliamentary government in Germany.

The only blessing we seem to have secured in return for the loss of our liberty of action in regard to reparations is a French promise to stop the drain of gold from America to France. That undertaking reveals incidentally how much political problems are dominated by nomics, and how much bankers are determining the policies of nations.

So far as disarmament is concerned, the Hoover-Laval conversations seem to have yielded nothing but the pious hope that the Geneva conference in February may be a success. It does not appear that anything was said or done which would increase the possibilities of that success or change the French attitude toward disarmament. Altogether, the world situation is more ominous because of the conference, for the latter practically destroyed the last hope that the problem of reparations would be dealt with in such a way as to avoid political catastrophe in Germany.

Is the Social Struggle War?

Mr. Charles Cogen sends the following letter concerning one of our recent editorials:

> I am a subscriber to THE WORLD TOMORROW and find it increasingly absorbing and instructive. There are times, however, when its viewpoints and ideology appear to me to be somewhat inconsistent and irreconcilable. They ofttimes seem to approach the manner of straddling, unconscious as it may be. In the issue of August, 1931, for example, the following two statements appeared in your editorial columns: *The Class Struggle,* p. 244—*"The doctrine of class war can be negated* in the long run only by a political movement which does justice to both the ethical and the brutal factors of history." (Italics mine.) *"Strikes and Wages,"* p. 245—"But he who criticizes them [strikes] should reflect that we are living in a world in which *nothing but industrial war can give the worker protection* against the inexorable economic forces which claim him as a victim." (Italics mine.)
>
> These and similar statements give the impression, unintended, of course, of an apparently insoluble conflict between the religious and ethical idealism and the economic materialism, both of which THE WORLD TOMORROW espouses. Or do I misconstrue?

The inconsistency to which our correspondent calls attention is largely one of phraseology in the particular examples which he cites, but we are quite willing to admit that our editorial policy, if not more fully explained, might seem to deserve such a criticism.

In the instances mentioned the inconsistency arises from our erroneous use of the word "war" in speaking of strikes. We do not regard strikes as war but as necessary forms of non-violent resistance to the kind of pressure which is exerted against the workers. We know very well that strikes may issue in social war and that sometimes violence is employed by either one side or the other, or both. We believe that the use of violence is not conducive to the highest interests of the workers. Neither is it to the advantage of the state to use it against workers even though social peace is the ostensible objective. When a minority group uses violence (and the workers are in the minority if the total middle class and agrarian community is set against

em), the majority can always resort to still more olence. Moreover, the use of violence gives a sem- ance of reality to the pretensions of every powerful id privileged group that it is interested not so much its own privileges as in the maintenance of peace. ny workers' movement which accentuates this ypocrisy of the controlling groups is fashioning a otent weapon for the use of its foes. For this reason, is unfortunate that militant labor groups do not savow violence in more unequivocal terms than they ave heretofore done. Nevertheless, we can not hold ith certain ethical leaders and educators who argue at a more just society can be built merely by increas- g social intelligence and imagination, for we do not elieve that any priviliged group will ever be imagina- ve enough to yield its privileges voluntarily without ressure from below. We are convinced that some kind resistance must be offered and some kind of pressure ust be used by every group which seeks a larger easure of justice in society. The problem is to find rms of pressure and to use them in a spirit which ill disturb the educational and ethical processes, of hich no community is completely bereft, to the allest possible degree, and which offer the privileged roups the least temptation to flaunt their outstanding ce: that is, their inclination to pose as the preservers law and order.

There will be a social struggle in society from now til the end of history. Whether that struggle degen- ates into warfare depends upon the degree of imag- ation possessed by those who must yield and those ho must advance in the progressive achievement of cial justice.

New York Politics

For some months the Seabury committee has been aking a careful investigation of political conditions in ew York. It is doubtful whether any inquiry of this nd has ever been conducted in a more thorough and instaking manner. While it is far from completed, ough evidence has been unearthed to justify the harges of corruption which for decades and decades ve been made against the Tammany machine. Sea- ry has proved that Tammany office-holders of high d low degree are able to bank fabulous sums out of l proportion to the salaries they draw. He has thrown ght upon the bi-partisan deal which cheapened the high- t court of the state by making its personnel subject to e control of political bosses. His investigations of e lower courts have resulted in the removal or resigna- n of half a score of jurists. Yet after all these revela- ns, the voters of New York gave Tammany a record ajority in the November election and betrayed their nality or imbecility still further by giving the Repub- an candidate for the Manhattan borough presidency —a man who is convicted out of his own mouth of using Tammany to mulct the city—a larger vote than they gave Norman Thomas who was running for the same office.

One can draw various conclusions from these results, none of them reassuring. It is possible that we are living in an age of decline in which the general public has completely lost the capacity for moral indignation against political corruption and is therefore quite incapable of resisting the even more dangerous forms of economic immorality which develop in terms of and not in defiance of accepted standards of public decency. One might draw a further conclusion that the New York situation is but another revelation of the complete breakdown of democracy in American urban life. Our cities are ruled by gangsters or bosses, and the average citizen lacks either the intelligence or the interest to preserve ordinary political decencies in municipal life. Such elections throw a flash of light upon a dismal scene, the scene of a nation coming to the end of a period of debauch with insufficient moral resources left to restore even the semblance of sanity and wholesomeness in its social life.

In a regard to the disappointing Socialist vote, which represents only a small increase over previous elections, in spite of the depression and the revelation of the venality of both old parties, perhaps the most constructive conclusion one may draw is that Socialism will not become a force in American political life until it has either created labor unions of its own or made over the old unions. The American worker will not vote in his own interest as an individual. He lacks the political and economic intelligence to do so. Until his whole outlook is re-oriented through the right kind of unions, he will continue to be a prey to present political machines and newspaper propaganda. An adequate political expression of labor's aims must wait upon or at least go hand in hand with a development of radicalism in the trade union movement.

Devere Allen Goes to *The Nation*

With extreme reluctance and yet with heartiest congratulations we announce that Devere Allen has accepted a position as Associate Editor of *The Nation*. For a decade Mr. Allen has been carrying heavy editorial responsibility with THE WORLD TOMORROW, and it is wholly unnecessary for us to remind our readers of the unique and invaluable contribution he has been making to their thinking. His colleagues desire to pay enthusiastic and affectionate tribute to his ability, zeal, courage, and unfailing good humor. To *The Nation*, our unexcelled contemporary, we offer cordial congratulations. It will be a satisfaction to our readers to know that Mr. Allen has consented to become a Contributing Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW and from time to time will continue to share his convictions with them.

Pacifism in the World Crisis

DEVERE ALLEN

THE lines are being drawn. Everywhere the trend is away from democracy of the parliamentary type toward fascism and its milder copies, or else toward Left dictatorships of varying radicalism. Where exceptions are discernible, these only emphasize the general drift.

While Great Britain's new National Government will perfunctorily go through the motions of a sterile parliamentarism, it will in fact be a dictatorship of the Right elements, using extraordinary powers by consent of a majority among the electorate. For nearly a year the government of Germany has been virtually a dictatorship, its conservative decrees supported by the unhappy Socialists as an alternative to rampant Hitlerism. The rôles of Italy and Russia are known to everyone; and in both countries there has been a recent tightening of power.

Even in France, where a certain democratic spirit is one of the most delightful things about the people, government is in actuality conducted through the medium of a corrupt, officially-dictated press, in alliance with a ruthless capitalist combination of banks and industry, the agricultural and more democratic elements being, on the whole, uninfluential. From Helsingfors to Danzig, the new Baltic states are ruled by arbitrary power. And though the people of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are less fascinated by the lures of extremism in any direction, here, too, the struggle is definitely on between the encroaching prophets of fascism and the defenders of economic democracy, with the latter showing a readiness, in a pinch, to sacrifice political democracy—as witness the program of Norway's Labor Party. And in the new Spain, where democracy, both political and economic, is a passion and a crusade, only a radical government, unhesitatingly utilizing decree and police coercion, could have kept the machinery of state functioning at all under the dual attacks from the monarchist Right and the Anarcho-Syndicalist Left.

What is going on in Europe is paralleled elsewhere. The galaxy of revolutionary governments that has risen over the South American horizon had its origin rather uniformly in the determination to shake off the menacing combines of United States bankers and local autocrats; but whatever the outcome, the present tendency on that continent is either toward a coercive Left or a stubbornly intrenched Right.

What part of Asia is ruled today by *bona fide* parliamentarism? Japan, which started out so promisingly after the collapse of the shogunate in 1867, and which has witnessed heroic struggles amon its aspiring democrats, still proceeds in th time-honored groove of imperialistic capitalism China, of which nearly anything may be true, is a surely the classic example of a defunct traditiona pacifism giving way to a series of deadlocks betwee Left and Right benevolent tyrannies. Even in Indi two significant facts are apparent: that innumerabl patriots are impatient of democratic ideals as a futur solvent for their country's problems should it win fre dom; and that Mahatma Gandhi's pacifism has a tracted followers, and world-wide respect, not merel because of its sincerity but because it has employe action, and, indeed, coercive action.

However obscured in the sight of the masses ma be the growing political dictatorship exerted by ama gamations, mergers, and combines in the United State students of political history are well aware that in ou own way we, too, have gone far in the direction o minority business rule, partly authorized by publ inertia or consent and partly purchased. And here imply less the downright ascendancy of corruption, o even arbitrary seizure of power, than the subtle ope ation of natural economic and population trends t paralyze or frustrate what is still called, euphemisti ally, public opinion.

THE change that has come over the minds of mi lions may well be epitomized by the develo ment in the thinking of such a great man, for instanc as Romain Rolland. M. Rolland last spring recapit lated for me briefly the change in his outlook, sinc the war, from an ideal of "intellectual independence to what I understand as "coöperative solidarity wit the masses struggling to revolutionize the social o der." It has led this ardent and distinguished pacifis who still holds firmly to non-violence, to declare open that, in so far as the economic struggle may come t a showdown, he would "march with Moscow." Th is not a departure from principles of non-violence o his part, but, rather, a frank declaration of allegian in the economic conflict.

Precisely the same reasoning carried further has r sulted in a tremendous drain of pacifists, particular youthful pacifists, away from non-violent movemen in Central Europe into the camp of fascist nationalis or else of communism. Whether the division goes th far or not, throughout the whole planet the lines a daily drawn more sharply.

Basically, there is no single cause. But obvious

the capitalist machinery has been breaking down, and every means available has been called into operation to save it from utter ruin. That former Socialists like MacDonald and Snowden should be lending themselves to these heroic remedies—heroic in quantity but hardly qualitatively—is only an incident no matter how crucial may be the immediate effects. What is more significant in the long run is the bankruptcy of capitalism and the weakness of international socialism and other movements for social change.

HOW desperate had become the capitalist collapse was perhaps indicated less by the failure of banks in Austria and Germany last summer, with the subsequent train of major consequences around the world, than the sheer inability of the industrial and financial wizards to meet the conditions of recovery. For years they had almost everywhere allied themselves with the imperialistic nationalism of the post-war era; though some bankers, notably in the United States, possessed vision enough to see how disastrous this must be, it was impossible for the professors of private profit to undo rapidly enough their life-long indoctrination in the virtues of competition. Despite sporadic coöperation in sugar and coal, the great steel cartel, which was to show the world how a benevolent capitalism could perform to the good of the greatest number, fell to pieces with a crash because its members could not be trusted to display sufficient economic altruism. It was the same in the case of wheat. Despite the League's invaluable economic aid to small nations after the war, its recent efforts have been wrecked on the rock of national selfishness—notably with regard to the proposed tariff truce, currency and exchange arrangements, and the mal-distribution of gold.

At such a juncture, international socialism was faced with a magnificent opportunity. Was this the final breakdown of the capitalistic order, in line with Marx's predictions, killed because it bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction? The Communists of Europe did not think so; their strategy has been based largely on the assumption that the system would pull itself together, and, though groggy, go on to one more pseudo-triumph before its ultimate immolation. Be this prophecy or cynicism, the substantial gains which could have been made for human progress were inestimable. For international socialism still maintains its faith in popular democratic methods; it has a spirit which, at its best, is capable of crossing armed frontiers with realistic idealism; it has proved its administrative capacity in such municipalities as Vienna and Sheffield, and in such governments as those of Spain, Denmark, and, at least with respect to foreign affairs, of Great Britain. But socialism has been dissipating its energies, perforce, in a defensive battle against fascism on the one hand and sometimes communism on the other. Its weakness has been due to its rigid constitutionalism, to which it has clung when in so many areas parliamentarism has been either overridden by its foes or abandoned by its affrighted, disillusioned friends. Rightly or wrongly—and our generation will never find perspective for too assured an answer—constitutionalism is everywhere being discarded as unsafe except in times of comparative security and ease.

DOUBTLESS many of the millions who endorse dictatorships, Left or Right, benevolent or selfish, do so not from a conviction of their eternal fitness but instead from a demand for speedy action. Socialism, therefore, has been weak and unable to grasp its greatest chance simply because it abhors war and violence in general, and sees these as the only alternatives to gradualism. It is not without justification in this growing view; for no matter how much divergent bodies of Socialists may argue the degrees of violence which they are willing to employ, or the circumstances conditioning their use of violence, they come to realize that not only is violence of dubious permanent value, but that the day of the barricade is definitely past. Only political control or the industrial withdrawal of productive power, in this age when authority possesses such deadly preponderance in weapons, can avail.

Thus the world movement of socialism, and along with it the congeries of humanitarian progressive forces which without being allied to it move nevertheless in the same direction, is finding nothing but frustration in crisis-periods. There is no profit in mumbling the old polemics on class war and violence today, and reliving the early days of socialist ideology, when new and unanticipated factors have brought new questions in a quite new world. And if I have dealt here more directly with international socialism, the identical dilemma confronts education and religion, for these, too, must develop a non-violent technique of meeting a crisis and directly affecting the flow of events, or else sit back as mere spectators, plastic figures molded by gigantic fingers over which they exercise no influence whatever.

The history of the human race has revealed more than one occasion when the confluence of two great forces furnished mankind with the solution of its crisis-difficulties. Perhaps today we are at such a stage of history. At any rate, the possibility should be more investigated.

LOGIC does not always prevail in human relations. But logic, for what it may be worth, points to a definite union of the struggle for economic justice and the non-violent technique. Socialists sometimes and Communists invariably by dogma have repudiated the

pacifist as unrealistic. No pacifist need fear such a criticism, for on his side are not only abundant historical indications but a present condition of affairs which renders the non-violent technique vastly the more practical and productive. The sound complaint of the economic radical is in the abstention of so many pacifists from the economic struggle—their hesitancies, their fears, their failure to perceive that there is no central ground on which to stand, their lack of realization that to do nothing is only to register their support for the *status quo*. It is equally true of the racial struggle, in which pacifists have done much but Communists often more.

Ready to the hand of revolutionary forces is the non-violent technique of revolution, not fully developed to be sure, but tried and not found wanting in a considerable number of historic emergencies. But upon pacifists themselves must rest the burden of provin their method as worthy to be substituted in crisis situ ations, by the development—partly through the strik of clergy, labor, teachers, and other groups agains war, and by the improved technique of hateless, nor violent attack on evil—of positive, crisis pacifism. Fo years pacifists talked of "non-resistance" when resis tance was the need of oppressed multitudes. In late times, they have talked of "non-violent resistance" when what the inarticulate masses were seeking wa a means of initiating an attack on injustice, a way o starting crusades against standpattism, without lettin loose the fiendish forces of modern war. Can pacifism with the example of Gandhi—though he is not alone—go on from resistance to attack, from a tactic suitabl for periods of calm to a mood and method suitable t crises?

Imperialist Aggression In Manchuria

PAUL PORTER

THREE nations cross destinies in Manchuria. Their conflicting economic and political interests in this prized territory have figured largely in two wars in the last thirty-seven years and may conceivably precipitate another. Even should the present Sino-Japanese dispute be curbed before wholesale slaughter begins, it is obvious that the day of reckoning will only have been postponed.

Map-makers still tint Manchuria the same color that they apply to China proper. Since the middle of the Seventeenth Century when the Manchus imposed their rule upon the Chinese Empire, the Northeastern Provinces have been under the political jurisdiction of now strong, now feeble Chinese governments. Approximately ninety-five per cent of the thirty million population is Chinese and this proportion is increased each year by a million Shantung and Chihli peasants fleeing famines and bandits.

Economic dominance of this territory, however, particularly the Southern portion, has already passed to Japan. The young nation of the Rising Sun made its first bid for a foothold in 1895 at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War, when it claimed as victor's spoils the Liaotung Peninsula of Manchuria, the island of Formosa in the South, and the privilege of "guaranteeing" Korea's independence. Russia, whose imperialistic ambitions in Korea had been an important factor in causing Japan to war against Korea's listless protector, joined with France and Germany in "advising" the conqueror to return the peninsula. Japan complied, and then in the next decade sullenly watched China's benefactors generously reward themselves for the good deed performed "in the interest of permanent peace in the Far East." Russia secretly negotiated a treaty with a corrupt Chi nese minister which entitled her to construct a railroa across Northern Manchuria, with a branch line to th city that is now Dairen at the tip of the Liaotung Penin sula. France loaned capital for the project and seize Indo-China. The staunchly Lutheran Kaiser Wilhelm burst into a rage at the convenient murder of two Cath olic missionaries in China, and ordered the offending na tion to pay a huge indemnity, to yield the port of Tsing tao, and to grant German capitalists the right to con struct a railway through the heart of Shantung province China appealed to Russia to oust the Germans from Tsingtao; a section of the Russian fleet sailed into Pa cific waters and occupied Port Arthur and Dairen.

When Czarist officials secured valuable mining and timber concessions for themselves in Korea, "the pistol pointed at the head of Japan", Japan struck. The strug gle cost one hundred thousand men and a half billion dollars but the new Island Empire emerged heir to Russia's South Manchurian stakes, including the branch line railway that has since been transformed into the excellently equipped South Manchurian Railway. China recognized these winnings in a treaty in 1906 which gave Japan leased control over the railway zone and Kuantung territory (the peninsula tip) until 1923. In 1915 Japan was revenged upon Germany when she drove her from Shantung province; in the same year she imposed under duress the Twenty-one Demands that gave her title to Germany's holdings and that extended the Manchurian leases into the Twenty-first Century. At the Washington Arms Conference in 1922 she relinquished

he Shantung claims, but was permitted to hold to her Manchurian privileges, although the main body of Chinese opinion has never acknowledged their legality.

In the years since 1905 Japan has added to her initial stakes in Manchuria, coal mines, steel mills, flour mills, banks, trading organizations, and at Dairen some of the best docks in the world. Her total investment now exceeds one billion dollars. The South Manchurian Railway and the Chosen Government Railway that meets it at Mukden are enormously important in the commercial and industrial life of Manchuria, but they possess a military significance as well. Fortifications have been constructed along these lines, and in successive visits to Manchuria I have seen camouflaged armored railway cars ready for call. Hotels operated by the S. M. R. can be readily converted into hospital bases.

RUSSIA'S influence in northeastern Asia waned after her defeat by Japan. The Bolshevik Government, renouncing all imperialist privileges inherited from the Czarist regime, gave control of the railway now known as the Chinese Eastern to China, but in 1924 it negotiated a treaty providing for bi-national management. This road shortens by 500 miles the route to Vladivostok, Russia's one Pacific port. Vladivostok harbor is ice-bound, however, during the winter months, and some Russian trade must pass via Harbin and the S. M. R. through Dairen. In 1929 when the Nanking Government, bidding for the favor of capitalist nations with money to lend, and engaging in a domestic political move against warlords whose troops General Chiang Kai-shek preferred to see pitted against Russian rather than against his own, precipitately expelled Russian railway operators from Manchuria, the Red Army forced a restoration of the status quo. This act, however, probably represents the limit to which Russia will go in exercising control over Manchuria. If white Russian *émigrés* should interfere with the operation of the railway, Red soldiers would doubtless soon scatter them; but it is highly unlikely that the Soviet Union will be drawn into a Far Eastern war at the present time. Military operations now would throw out of gear the neatly integrated planned economy.

BUT between the interests of China and Japan there is sharp friction that is likely to grow more intense. For the former the half-settled plains of Manchuria are an overflow field for surplus population. The mineral sources, timber, and financial revenue that may be derived from the Northeastern provinces should play an important role in the economic rehabilitation of China. Manchuria comprises approximately the same area as the state of Texas. Whereas many Chinese lands are depleted and are subject to frequent floods because of deforestation, Manchurian soil is unusually fertile and the mountain slopes are for the most part heavily forested. Four-sevenths of all of Chinese iron ore deposits are to be found in the single province of Mukden. The port of Dairen, under Japanese aegis to be sure, has become the second port of China in the value of goods that pass through it. But Manchuria possesses much more than an economic value for China: it is an Alsace-Lorraine, a symbol of lost rights that must be recovered before China can as a sovereign nation regain "face" with the world.

It is more than a quarter of a century, however, since those rights were lost. In the meantime an economic structure has been built in Japan that would topple if the Manchurian pillar were removed. The Japanese Islands, though bountifully blessed with a picturesque landscape, are notoriously deficient in iron ore and coking coal, two mineral resources that Manchuria possesses in abundance. Even terraces high up mountain-sides bring under cultivation only 15.5 per cent of the land that in total area is smaller than the state of California. This land, intensively tilled for rice culture for centuries, is losing its fertility. Beancake fertilizer made from the Manchurian soya bean increases its yield, but even so, more labor and more fertilizer, it is estimated, are required to produce a bushel of rice than were required twenty years ago.

Japan's food resources are virtually inelastic, but population increases almost one million each year. Since the beginning of the modern era with the Imperial Restoration in 1868, the population of the islands has doubled to sixty-five million. It will probably be 108 million by 1965, but already in proportion to arable land the Japanese population is the densest of any country in the world. While the population growth of other heavily settled areas like Holland or the United Kingdom reveals a slightly declining curve, Japanese statistics show no appreciabe signs of abatement. Emigration would be no satisfactory remedy even if the United States, Canada, and Australia had not been inexcusably rude in slamming their doors. Less than a million Japanese have emigrated to Formosa, Korea, or Manchuria; every three months the Chinese influx into Manchuria exceeds the total number of Japanese residents there. Birth control information is no longer suppressed. Neither is it encouraged by the Government, nor will it likely be encouraged in a vigorous way until an international control is established over the birth of armaments. When guns increase in number each year, cautious statesmen will expect an increase in the number of men to shoulder them.

FROM any angle the economic future of Japan is dark. Her immediate hope is industrialization so that manufactured goods, produced by abundant and hence cheap labor, may be sold at sufficient advantage in the world market to pay for raw materials and food. Tariff walls impede this policy, but nevertheless indus-

trial progress has been amazingly rapid. And in proportion to this progress Japan has grown more dependent upon Manchuria. But so has she grown more dependent upon the good will of China in order that she may sell her manufactured hats and cotton cloth. While the western nations were engaged in the World War, Japan enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Chinese market. Since that time there has been a powerful commercial class whose trading interests in Central China counterbalanced the imperial interests in Manchuria. Two staple commodities, cotton manufactures and raw silk, account for two-thirds of Japan's exports; and two nations, China and the United States, buy respectively about 25 per cent and 40 per cent of her goods. In recent years Japan's foreign trade has shown an unfavorable balance of $100,000,000 yearly (though many of the imports have been producers' goods which in time should swing the balance in the other direction.) Her sales to China, however, have been almost twice her purchases. But in recent months exports have been cut by Chinese tariffs, boycotts which clever Chinese capitalists have been able to turn to their advantage have been effected, and the depreciation of China's currency, with the halving of the value of silver at a time when Japan has been struggling to maintain a highly evaluated gold standard, has taken place. To make matters worse the American tariff and hard times have restricted raw silk sales, and this has seriously affected not only the silk industry but thousands of peasants who have supplemented a meager income through sericulture.

Japan has been not far from the brink of disaster, and the militarists and reactionaries sensing a possible revolutionary situation have struck first. A virtual fascist dictatorship has already been established through the direct action policy of the army, acting apparently without the knowledge and perhaps in defiance of the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. The Japanese militarists suffered a mild rebuff at the London Naval Conference, and a further loss of prestige was feared at the coming Disarmament Conference. The peace movement had been gaining strength in Japan. A million persons have signed a petition requesting total and universal disarmament. In August a pacifist demonstration in Tokyo was broken up by the police and more than 200 participants were jailed. But for the present, the militarists seem to have swung public opinion almost unanimously to their support.

The militarist *coup d'état* is a reflection of the brutal economic facts that compel Japan in an imperialist world to act in an imperialistic manner, one which has many times been demonstrated to her by the nations of the West. The aggression in Manchuria is a striking reminder of Marxian prophecy that war in a capitalist-imperialist society is virtually inescapable. A future war may be avoided if raw materials, not alone in Manchuria but throughout the world, can be allocated according to industrial needs, if trade can be organized on a rational basis, if the rivalries of national capitalists can be downed in an international socialism, and if a concerted control of the growth and distribution of population can be achieved. Until long steps are made in the direction of these conditions of peace, the rattle of the sword will be heard above the flourish of treaty pens.

Kagawa As a Pacifist

KATSUO TAKENAKA

IT was during the days of the Russo-Japanese war when Japan was proving her right to be called a "modern nation" by the most effective method—military conquest. One evening a self-constituted tribunal, meeting in the shadow of the Christian church in Tokyo, brought a young pacifist to trial for his monstrous conduct in speaking against the war. The prisoner was Toyohiko Kagawa, aged sixteen. But let him tell the story.

"When I was sixteen I went up to Tokyo to study in the Presbyterian College. There were only three pacifists, two brothers from south Japan and I. They were clever fellows and kept quiet, but I didn't. So one night the students' assembly decided I was to be judged. I was called out to the back yard of the seminary and there were the students headed by H——, a senior. It was he who addressed me.

"Do you say Japan made a mistake to declare war against Russia?"

"Yes," I replied.

"You are a foolish fellow! Now obey our orders!" Thereupon one of the students came up and struck me on the cheek. Being a Tolstoian, I didn't resist. I have forgotten how many times I was beaten that night, and I came back to my room very lonesome and unhappy. But I didn't keep quiet as they ordered me to do. I preached peace more than ever."

THUS began the career of the remarkable man who, as Christian minister, labor leader, writer of a best-seller novel, organizer of coöperatives and mutual aid associations, is known also as the leading advocate of unqualified non-resistance in Japan.

Kagawa's stand is the more conspicuous because of

he slow development of anti-war sentiment in his country. The present generation of Japanese young people have had no first-hand experience of the horrors of war. On the other hand, their national tradition centers in a peculiar way around militarism. Japan's development as a modern nation was largely through her military expansion in Asia. Stories of her struggle with Russia, and of the exploits of military heroes of previous wars, are known and repeated by every child from the time that he enters primary school. The typical Japanese movie usually involves sword play and fighting. The number of patriotic societies listed in an authoritative labor publication as "anti-social movements" totals fifty-one. Members of these societies, like the "one hundred percenters" of America, are ultra-nationalists, resolved to protect and extend the Japanese spirit at all costs. Some of them have attacked Mr. Kagawa as a national enemy on the ground of his socialism, his Christianity, and his friendship for the West. It was a misguided youth from one of these societies who assassinated Premier Hara because of the latter's "concessions" at the Washington Conference.

In national life the influence of the military bloc is very great. Some of the foremost leaders in political affairs have been drawn from the army and the navy, and military men have wrecked at least one government that opposed them in policy. Universal military training, moreover, which in some cases is begun in the grammar schools, plays a large part in securing an uncritical acceptance by the public of the war program.

Religion has run true to form in lending its assent to the system. Shinto is a religion of patriotism, and one usually finds the grounds about the larger shrines decorated with captured cannon and other weapons of war, quite suggestive of American courthouse lawns and public squares. Christianity, desperately anxious to prove that it did not teach disloyalty, the crime of crimes in Japan, seems to have offered little opposition to war. However, there is at least one well-known minister who served time in prison because of his refusal to go to war, and is said to have quoted from his New Testament while making his defence in court. Kagawa has expressed a desire to write a novel with this man as his hero.

THE first ideals of pacifism came to Japan not from Christianity but from socialism. After the Russo-Japanese war Kropotkin and Tolstoi exerted a deep influence among thoughtful young men who were disappointed that the Christian churches took no stand for peace. Indeed, some of the prominent socialist leaders today are men who started out as Christians but turned their back upon Christianity when it identified itself with war. Since, therefore, the anti-militarists were at the same time socialists, the general suspicion with which the pacifist tendency was regarded was increased. Lately, also, the fact that communists profess peace has added to the oppobrium of pacifism in a land where "dangerous thought" is so sternly repressed.

Let it be recorded to the credit of Christianity, however, that Kagawa is a pacifist because of his religion. His philosophy of non-resistance is based on the Sermon on the Mount. He declares, "Faith in God is the fundamental guarantee that the ethic of non-resistance is practicable." The victory of spiritual over material force is "God's intervention for man through personalities." For Kagawa the principle of non-resistance is never merely passive, it is active and creative. He says, "But if we trust in the salvation of God . . . and if we feel that we want to save, we must also act as the messengers from God."

KAGAWA'S years of service in the slums of Kobe, dwelling in a tiny room less comfortable, according to his report, than the various prison cells which he has occupied, are generally well known. It was during this time that a drunken bully made an attack upon him which resulted in the loss of some of his teeth.

His own organization is known as the "Friends of Jesus." It is modeled after the ancient church brotherhoods, and requires a three-year novitiate, having three classes, the Friends, the Brothers, and the Servants. One of the five aims of this fellowship is the "war on war."

Kagawa was also the founder of the National Anti-War League at the time when the Tanaka Cabinet was planning to send an army into Tsinan, China, in 1928. Supported in this by the left-wing political parties, he courageously led the movement in spite of the misunderstanding and oppression of the government. Before the meeting of this league in Tokyo, bills urging an attack upon his life were circulated, and during the course of the meeting he was placed under arrest to prevent his assassination. The league is still continuing its work but mainly through the platform of a proletarian party and the Kagawa evangelistic program.

Needless to say, he has been and is an inspiration to members of the Japanese branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In 1930 he was the only Japanese to sign the manifesto presented to the League of Nations against conscription. Others signing it included Tagore, Gandhi, Romaine Rolland, and Einstein.

LAST winter Kagawa conducted a series of meetings in China, in which he lectured on his experiences in applying the Gospel to social conditions. First of all, however, he sought to make his position clear regarding the situation between the two countries. The following sentence is from a sermon to Shanghai college students: "What we have to learn about Christ is the spirit of forgiveness. And in that spirit I ask your pardon to me and to Japan. Many of you might think Japan is

a terrible country, but I ask you to consider that the fault of Japan is the fault of the leaders of the military party. I am not a militarist nor are the majority of our people." One result of Kagawa's visit to China was the organization of a Goodwill Seminar of Chinese students from Cjeeloo University in Shantung, a center of anti-Japanese feeling, to tour Japan in the interests of international friendship.

With regard to Japan's policy in Korea, Kagawa stands firmly against it and refuses to enter Korea until it is altered.

One of the most interesting of Kagawa's multitudinous activities is his peasants' gospel schools, where young men from the country are educated in Christianity and in practical agriculture at the same time. Here the teaching of pacifism is an integral part of the curriculum. In the model school started five years ago, Kagawa advised the boys to resist conscription for military training. "Then we should have to go to prison," they protested. "Better go to prison," was his reply.

It is Kagawa's firm conviction that the best agency for peace is the labor movement. He places little confidence in isolated peace propaganda on the present capitalistic basis of society, and he wishes to avoid the mistake of expending enthusiasm in preaching peace as a substitute for the more difficult task of changing the present economic order. Hence his effort to attack this problem constructively through political parties and through the organization of coöperative groups in the church.

Occasionally schools and public halls have been closed to Kagawa because of his pacifism, as in 1929 when the mayor of a mountain city denounced him as an enemy of the Throne. Generally, however, he has a free hearing and is able, as Gandhi is said to be, to address any audience from ignorant peasants to the flower of the universities, and to hold their attention.

The last few years have brought Kagawa to the attention of people of other countries. Such comments as "the greatest Christian in the world" and "one of the outstanding figures in Asia," are not uncommon from Westerners who have seen and heard him in his native land. The Christian Internationale, the most recent outgrowth of his efforts, with its program of prayer and international contacts through group correspondence and frequent Asiatic conferences, was founded last winter in China largely through Kagawa's efforts. At that time he declared: "We must go through with Christian idealism. . . . My desire is to establish a concrete Christian Internationale. . . . Under this standard friends of peace in Japan are looking forward to an advance all along the line."

Why Voluntary Poverty?

MAHATMA GANDHI

WHEN I found myself drawn into the political coil, I asked myself what was necessary for me in order to remain absolutely untouched by immorality, by untruth, by what is known as political gain. . . I do not propose to take you through all the details of that act or performance—interesting and, to me, sacred though they are—but I can only tell you that it was a difficult struggle in the beginning and it was a wrestle with my wife and—as I can vividly recall—with my children also. Be that as it may, I came definitely to the conclusion that, if I had to serve the people in whose midst my life was cast and of whose difficulties I was witness from day to day, I must discard all wealth, all possession.

I cannot tell you with truth that, when this belief came to me, I discarded everything immediately. I must confess to you that progress at first was slow. And now, as I recall those days of struggle, I remember that it was also painful in the beginning. But, as days went by, I saw that I had to throw overboard many other things which I used to consider as mine, and a time came when it became a matter of positive joy to give up those things. And one after another then, by almost geometric progression, the things slipped away from me. And, as I am describing my experiences, I can say a great burden fell off my shoulders, and I felt that I could now walk with ease and do my work also in the service of my fellow men with great comfort and still greater joy. The possession of anything then became a troublesome thing and a burden.

Exploring the cause of that joy, I found that, if I kept anything as my own, I had to defend it against the whole world. I found also that there were many people who did not have the thing, although they wanted it; and I would have to seek police assistance also if hungry famine-stricken people, finding me in a lonely place, wanted not merely to divide the thing with me but to dispossess me. And I said to myself: if they want it and would take it, they do so not from any malicious motive, but they would do it because theirs was a greater need than mine.

And then I said to myself: possession seems to me to be a crime: I can only possess certain things when I know that others, who also want to possess similar things, are able to do so. But we know—every one of us can speak from experience—that such a thing is an

mpossibility. Therefore, the only thing that can be possessed by all is non-possession, not to have anything whatsoever. In other words, a willing surrender.

You might then well say to me: but you are keeping many things on your body even as you are speaking about voluntary poverty and not possessing anything whatsoever! And your taunt would be right, if you only superficially understood the meaning of the thing that I am speaking about just now. It is really the spirit behind. Whilst you have the body, you will have to have something to clothe the body with also. But then you will take for the body not all that you can get, but the least possible, the least with which you can do. You will take for your house not many mansions, but the least cover that you can do with. And similarly with reference to your food and so on.

Now you see that there is here a daily conflict between what you and we understand to-day as civilization and the state which I am picturing to you as a state of bliss and a desirable state. On the other hand, the basis of culture for civilization is understood to be the multiplication of all your wants. If you have one room, you will desire to have two rooms, three rooms, the more the merrier. And similarly, you will want to have as much furniture as you can put in your house, and so on, endlessly. And the more you possess, the better culture you represent, or some such thing. I am putting it, perhaps, not as nicely as the advocates of that civilization would put it, but I am putting it to you in the manner I understand it.

And, on the other hand, you find the less you possess, the less you want, the better you are. And better for what? Not for enjoyment of this life, but for enjoyment of personal service to your fellow beings; service to which you dedicate yourselves, body, soul and mind. . . . even the body is not yours. It has been given to you as a temporary possession, and it can also be taken from you by him who has given it to you.

Therefore, having that absolute conviction in me, such must be my constant desire that this body also may be surrendered at the will of God, and while it is at my disposal, must be used not for dissipation, not for self-indulgence, not for pleasure, but merely for service and service the whole of your waking hours. And if this is true with reference to the body, how much more with reference to clothing and other things that we use? . . .

And those who have actually followed out this vow of voluntary poverty to the fullest extent possible (to reach absolute perfection is an impossibility, but the fullest possible extent for a human being) those who have reached the ideal of that state, they testify that, when you dispossess yourself of everything you have, you really possess all the treasures of the world. In other words, you really get all that is in reality necessary for you, everything. If food is necessary, food will come to you.

Many of you are men and women of prayer, and I have heard from very many Christian lips that they got their food in answer to prayer, that they get everything in answer to prayer. I believe it. But I want you to come with me a step further and believe with me that those who voluntarily give up everything on earth, including the body—that is to say, have readiness to give up everything (and they must examine themselves critically, rigidly, and give always an adverse judgment against themselves)—those who will follow this out will really find that they are never in want. . . .

Want must not again be taken literally. God is the hardest task-master I have known on this earth, and he tries you through and through. And when you find that your faith is failing or your body is failing you, and you are sinking, he comes to your assistance somehow or other and proves to you that you must not lose your faith and that he is always at your beck and call, but on his terms, not on your terms. So I have found. I cannot really recall a single instance when, at the eleventh hour, he has forsaken me. . . . As my critics will tell you, at one time I collected one crore of rupees; in pounds, shillings and pence I cannot count it for you, but I had no difficulty in collecting it. And since then, whenever any emergency has arisen, not for any consideration, not in the soul of my fundamental being, can I recall a single instance of my failing to obtain whatever was necessary for service.

I do not go among my fellows who starve and talk of voluntary poverty; I do not tell them how blessed they would be if they changed that involuntary poverty into voluntary. There is no such thing as magic of that character on this earth. It is a painful process, and these men have first of all to have the necessities of life before I can talk to them of voluntary poverty.

What does happen is this: that a man like me going among them, living in their midst as best he can their life, can bring a ray of hope into their hearts. They will accept remedies that a man like me may suggest to them. At least, if I cannot suggest any immediate remedy, they would find in a man like me a friend. They would say: "He is happy although he possesses nothing; how is it?" I do not need to argue with them; they begin to argue for themselves.

How can I share these richest treasures from my experience with everybody on earth. I could not. But to-day, having undertaken to speak on voluntary poverty, I am sharing, to a certain extent only, these treasured experiences of mine not amongst a few hundred people here but amongst millions of people. I tell you that it is beyond description, the bliss, the happiness, and the ability that this voluntary poverty gives one. I can only say: try it and experiment with it, test it for yourselves. (*From an address at the Guildhouse, London, September 23, 1931. Published in the Guildhouse Monthly, October, 1931.*)

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Hammer and Sickle in Church

The Red Flag of Soviet Russia was hung in the Central Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, along with the flags of other nations, at a recent peace meeting sponsored by the Brooklyn Federation of Churches.

Disarm!

The League for Industrial Democracy has recently published a provocative magazine entitled *Disarm,* containing articles and cartoons by leading pacifists.

One Cow in Ten

Dairy farmers are urged by the Dairy Advisory Committee to cull out one cow in ten in order to cope with the problem of overproduction of milk.

A Subsistence Wage

The average wage of coal miners and loaders in eleven states of the union is estimated as $67.64 per month by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Toronto Student Paper Urges

The undergraduate newspaper of the University of Toronto recently urged the abolition of military training from educational institutions.

The Rich Should Pay

That the burden of relieving the army of unemployed should be placed upon the rich who have skimmed the cream of industry was recently advocated by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, who urged higher income taxes in the upper brackets.

R.O.T.C. Makes New Demands

All students taking military training at the University of Nebraska were recently required to participate in a house-to-house canvass for the sale of tickets to the annual military ball, according to the *Lincoln Evening Journal.*

The Worst is Yet To Come

The Red Cross has issued a warning that the full effects upon public health of the reduced standards of living necessitated by the economic depression will not be visible for several years to come. Malnutrition is rapidly increasing and is undermining resistance to disease.

Again the Methodists Speak Out

The recent Detroit Conference of the M. E. Church requested the Government of the United States to exempt conscientious objectors from war service. Two Ohio conferences are making a test case of a Methodist student at Ohio University who was denied exemption from compulsory military training in that institution.

That Next War

The French Congress of Hygiene recently urged the Government to teach all the people how to use gas masks, to establish depots where masks are easily accessible, and to provide cellar refuges with special chimney ventilators.

Trend Toward Consolidation

Chain stores in the United States made sales to the value of $10,771,000,000 in 1929, according to the Bureau of the Census. This is equivalent to 21 per cent of the entire retail sales of the nation.

A Message From Chinese Pacifists

Three groups of peace workers in China, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, recently sent a telegram to Japanese peace societies, urging faith in pacific processes and the avoidance of war at any cost.

Will Alexander Goes to New Orleans

The director of the Interracial Commission has accepted a position as Acting President of Dillard University, a heavily endowed Negro institution. Mr. Alexander will continue a portion of his work with the Interracial Commission.

Student Poll on Disarmament

The Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, with Luther Tucker of Yale as Chairman, is conducting a national poll among college students to discover their attitude toward disarmament.

Fewer Criminals Among Jews

During the period from 1920 to 1929, according to a committee headed by Dr. Harry S. Linfield, the number of Jewish prisoners in all the penal institutions of the United States was 6,846, or 1.74 per cent of the total number of prisoners, whereas Jews number about 3½ per cent of the entire population of the nation.

Why Dr. Tucker Shot

Recently we recorded the fact that 27 missionaries in China deplored the shooting of a Chinese burglar by Dr. F. F. Tucker, a fellow missionary. A correspondent now sends a detailed account which reveals that the killing was not intentional, and that firing occurred only after prolonged provocation.

Latin Christians Take Advanced Positions

Strikingly progressive resolutions on social problems were adopted by the first congress of Social Christianity for Latin Countries recently held in Geneva. By a majority vote the courage of conscientious objectors to war was praised, unemployment insurance favored, reduction of working hours advocated, collective organization of production recommended, and a European economic alliance urged as an immediate need.

Averting Another World War

*A Symposium**

EUROPE does not want war today. It is true that no country is consciously working for war. Economically, no nation prepared for war. But it is a tragic truth, nevertheless, that less the forces which make for peace and international understanding can be strengthened, and unless the dangers of conflict n be avoided, war is inevitable—not, perhaps, this year, but oner than any of us like to think.

The problem is not insoluble; but its solution depends upon ld concerted action by all of the world powers. And this cludes the United States. At the time of the Washington nference the United States found it necessary, in order to ing about the limitation and reduction of naval armaments, reach certain political agreements in the Far East. One of ese was the Nine-Power Pacific Pact, pledging the territorial tegrity of China under which we agreed to consult with other wers. Another was the Four-Power Pacific Pact Treaty under ich we agreed to consult with Great Britain, France, and Japan any controversy arising out of any pacific question. A similar reement under which we would agree to consult with the other natories of the Kellogg Pact in any situation affecting the ace of the world might conceivably afford a basis for an understanding with France on the issue of disarmament. This at least the question which Premier Laval and President Hoover discussed in Washington. And the United States in sitting with the uncil of the League of Nations in its effort to reach a peaceful ution of the Manchurian dispute, has laid down a precedent ich might profitably be followed in the future. Such an agreement to implement the Kellogg Pact would not give France all security which she is asking; but it would be enough to mit France to recede from the intransigent position which her ent governments have taken on disarmament and to make ncessions to Germany sufficient to avoid an immediate crisis.

Franco-German relations are not the only political issues conting the Disarmament Conference. There are many others ich I have only time to mention in passing. The relation between ssia and the capitalist powers is one. The danger of aggression m Russia is given as a reason for not disarming at this time, yet fear of encirclement by the armed European powers is reason for Russia's armament. The Soviet Government will e to the Disarmament Conference with a proposal for drastic uction, and I, for one, believe that Russia's proposals are red in good faith. Certainly there is more hope of security agreement and understanding than in recrimination and fear. Then the unsettled Franco-Italian naval dispute is another rce of friction. Italy has offered to reduce her armaments to point, no matter how low, provided the Italian level is not eeded by any other European power. France, pleading the ial dangers to which she is exposed, has resisted the Italian rs.

And yet there is still good reason for optimism. There is not of the great powers which does not realize the terrible consequences of failure. There is a general agreement that those consequences must be avoided at any cost. There is no statesman who would dare to precipitate the crisis. Moreover, there is virtually no government today which is able to ignore the economic and financial situation. . . .

But in the last analysis the greatest hope and the greatest responsibility rest with public opinion, with the common people of all countries. And the people of all lands, I am convinced, want peace and are ready to work for peace. Last spring when I was in England, I was shown a petition calling for complete and universal disarmament which had been signed by more than a million and a quarter British men and women. Wales is a very small and remote corner of the British Isles which one would hardly expect to be vitally interested in world affairs; yet in Wales more than one-third of the entire population had signed this disarmament petition. One-third of the entire population means that practically every adult person in Wales had asked for total disarmament. Conditions of this kind may not mean very much, but they do afford a way of guaging public opinion, and the verdict of the people in Wales is, I believe, the true verdict of people in all countries.—*William T. Stone.*

Thou Shalt Not War

This multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, which embodied an American idea, enacted new law for each of the signatory powers. It cut away the right which nations had hitherto had under international law to resort to war in any cause. . . .

Historians will say that the multilateral treaty was epoch-making because it wrote international law in a field theretofore neglected by international law and in what surely is the most important field of international relations. The multilateral treaty changes the status of the war power in every foreign office of the signatory powers. It automatically changes every textbook on international law. Where the consensus of the authorities formerly was, as Hall says, that "International law has consequently no alternative but to accept war, independently of the justice of its origin, as a relation which the parties to it may set up if they choose," now the authorities have to add, "but the great powers have now, in the pact of Paris, solemnly renounced this right and covenanted to seek the solution of every controversy of whatever kind or origin only by pacific means." It is the first of the ten commandments between the nations—"Thou shalt not war."

If now, having entered into this solemn covenant, we proceed upon the old plane, if we juggle, as the London *Times* has said, with the "mathematics of parity, category by category," we fail to grasp our unique opportunity to infuse life-blood into the Kellogg Pact. It is no longer logical to consider disarmament in terms of scrapping one or two battleships and to pile upon that a billion dollar program for new building when we have all registered a common renunciation of a resort to war.—*Judge Florence E. Allen.*

*Excerpts from addresses delivered at 110 peace meetings sponsored by THE WORLD TOMORROW, with a total attendance of approximately 100,000 persons.

Utilizing International Organization

The League of Nations has now formulated a treaty or convention, known as the General Act, under which every member of the League, signatory to the General Act, binds itself to submit all international disputes arising between it and other members signing the General Act, either to judicial determination or to conciliation or to arbitration, and to be bound by the result of the submission. In so far as this General Act is accepted by the nations of the World and is carried out, it eliminates war as a means of settling international disputes.

The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and pledging the nations parties to it to settle all their disputes by peaceable means, marks a very real advance in international relations, because its signatories include all the principal nations of the world, whether in the League or not; but this Peace Pact provides no method for securing the enforcement of its obligations. The League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the General Act and the Arbitration Tribunal at the Hague provide the machinery for enforcing the obligations of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. What is needed today is not new or additional world organizations for peace, but that the existing organizations should be adhered to by all the nations, and utilized for the peaceable settlement of all disputes. . . .

Canada's experience of the first ten years of the League's operation was such that in 1929 we signed the optional clause of the Permanent Court, accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, and in 1930 we signed the General Act. Today Canada stands committed to submit every international dispute arising between her and any other nation, member of the League, which has also signed the General Act, and which cannot be settled through the ordinary diplomatic channels, to judicial determination or arbitration or conciliation, and to abide by the results. Canada has done everything in her power to eliminate war as a means of settling international disputes; and what Canada has done Great Britain and all the other Dominions of the Commonwealth have done.

Were the United States to decide to participate in the work of the League by becoming a member, and also to join the Permanent Court, it would give humanity new hope and new confidence that peace and justice might prevail throughout the world.—*Newton W. Rowell, K.C.*

Pardon and Exalt Other Nations

To advance the cause of peace and to make war less likely, two essential things must be done. One, which is the duty only of a portion of our population, is to coöperate in every way, as opportunity offers, with people of other nations in order that by coöperating with them we shall learn to be less touchy, more appreciative. For most of us the only opportunity for coöperation is in the attempt to see things from the point of view of another nation, that is, to get behind the highly partisan news dispatches of our daily papers and try to imagine how the situation looks to other nations. By such attempts we do something—admittedly not much—toward building up a spirit of international fairness out of which war is less likely to issue.

The other thing that we can do and that is open to us all, is to exalt the virtues and pardon the errors of other nations. Unless we know other nations better, we can no more do this than we can lift ourselves by our own bootstraps. We excuse the mistakes of people whom we like. We come down hard o the errors of those we dislike. We dislike foreigners ordinaril because of our ignorance. Even among the educated people o my acquaintance few have made any serious attempt to under stand and therefore to share the national point of view of Ger many, France, Italy, Russia, England. Such an effort would b as embarrassing as the effort to go on the stage and play a par Yet it is an essential portion of civilization and of education a I see it. Truth, that is the understanding of other people as the are and as they see themselves, is far more important tha exhortations or the passing of resolutions or writing to ou congressman, because truth alone can make us free.—*Richar C. Cabot.*

Hard-Headed Realism

The world is caught in a vicious circle of economic maladjus ment and war. First, economic maladjustment with its inequitie its competitive struggle for raw materials and for markets, it abuses of the private profit motive, produces war, and then wa with its ruinous destruction of life and property, its accentuate hatred, its disturbance of all human relationships, produce economic catastrophe. So like the hen and the egg, our econom evils lay war, and our wars hatch economic evils. Unless th fatal cycle can be broken, our civilization cannot endure.

The whole world will rightly watch the coming Disarmamen Conference with anxious eyes. What man of even ordinary inte ligence can really suppose that competitive armament any longe constitutes a sensible means of national defence? A diminutiv five-foot man, like Senator Morrow, with intelligence in his hea and goodwill in his heart, going to Mexico and using both, h more national defense incarnate in his personality than all th armaments we Americans spend $700,000,000 a year upon.

Strangely enough, movements for peace, such as disarmamen are commonly thought of, even in peaceful America, as Utopia idealism. Hard-headed realists preparing for war, soft-heade idealists crying for peace—that is a common picture. The tru is that this whole peace movement in general, and the disarm ment campaign in particular, is a hard-headed endeavor to cat up with the facts.

The nations of the world are economically interdependent, a when we fight against each other we ruin each other, no matt who wins. That is the hard-headed fact. The romance is all o of war, not only in its methods but in its outcome. Nobody no wins a war and goes home loaded with the loot. The aftermat of every war now is that all of us together, winners and loser spend the next quarter of a century, at least, miserable am the economic wreckage. It is the militarists who are living a dream world where phantasy is mistaken for reality. For to fight each other when we depend on each other is folly, wh shall be said about nations who go on spending more and mo year after year, upon competitive armaments?

We are facing in the world today one of the hardest winters history. As we face the need of money to keep people from sta ing, as we hear of colossal deficits in Washington and new for of taxation being devised, we need to say to ourselves that w are spending over 80 per cent of our national income on wa past, present, and to come. Every added item in the prese economic distress is an argument against war, and against th mad piling-up of competitive armaments from which all wa spring.—*Harry Emerson Fosdick.*

Montreal Daily Star
New York Times
Toledo Times
USTON CHRONICLE
Disarmament Meeting, Auditorium, October 27
PEACE LEADERS HERE TAKE STEP TO OUTLAW WAR
Kenosha Joins Nation Program
Optimists Sponsor Program Monday With 150 Other Cities
4,000 ASK U. S. LEAD IN ARMS CUT DEMAND
OVERFLOW MEETING FOR DISARMAMENT
TORONTO MEETING FAVORS ARMS CUT
Premier Henry Makes Plea For Peace and Disarmament
ST. PAUL TO JOIN IN NATION-WIDE PROTEST AGAINST MILITARISM
Large Body of Representative Citizens With Chief Justice Wilson as Chairman Sponsors Public Demonstration
IOWA CITY PRESS-CITIZEN
Great Richmond Audience Unites in Plea for Peace
4,000 Citizens Adopt Resolutions After Hearing Address By U. S. Senator King.
MINNEAPOLIS STAR
OHIO JUDGE ASKS ARMS REDUCTION
Florence E. Allen Addresses Crowd At Auditorium.
1,200 ATTEND PEACE RALLY
All Problems Can Be Settled Without Resort to Arms, Editor Declares.
+ FOR DRASTIC WORLD DISARMAMENT
Resolutions Adopted at Peace Meeting of 500
More Than 1,300 Trojans Took Part Last Night in Meeting At Music Hall
STIRRING DISARMAMENT PLEA MADE BY DR. JOHN SAYRE IN WORLD PEACE PROGRAM HERE
'Outlaw War', Reese Pleads
Says Hope of the Future is Agreement Against War
Widely Famous Speakers Address Peace Advocates
Peace Movement Warmly Indorsed At Mass Meeting
Various Aspects of the World Peace Problem
THE WAR MAKERS.
George A. Coe, former Columbia U. Professor, ... occurs not because men like to ... because they go after possessions that affect international ... war makers ... interests.
There questions are taken from the November issue of the World Tomorrow which is sponsoring 150 peace meetings throughout the United States and Canada this week. They represent the views of leaders who are looking to the coming world disarmament conference as one of the most promising opportunities to remove the world from its present plight.
finitely more difficult and promises no quick ... other hand, it is grounded ... more permanent ... tion between co ... probe the ... tempt not ... believe ...
... no danger of in... ming armaments ... tives and pe... funds ...
War Denounced By Acadia President
Thinking People Can Prevent War, Prof. Coe Claims
SCRANTON REPUBLICAN
The Halifax Chronicle and The Novascotian
FRESNO BEE
St. Paul Dispatch
Ministers Hear Church Blamed For Past Wars
Dr. L. H. Hough Finds
OTTAWA IS ASKED TO AID IN PACT FOR DISARMAMENT
Prof. Niebuhr Sees Chaos if Geneva Conference Fails
Will to Peace Advocated As Noted Speakers Draw Grim Indictment of War
Arms Cut and U.S. Participation in League Advocated
Nine Hundred Hear Leading Educators in P... Mass Meeting
Peace Meeting Attracts Capacity Crowd to Temple
WORLD PEACE OUTLOOK GOOD, SPEAKER SAYS
World Peace Needs Outlined By Speakers At Meeting Here
SPRINGFIELD LEADER
PEACE MEETING HELD
...peakers Present Cures for World Ailments.
Need of Further Enlightening The People as to Great Importance of World Disarmament
Texan
SIX PAGE
...ong Arguments Ably and Eloquently Presented at Impressive Peace Meeting Held Last Night in the Strand Theatre. Premier Stew... Bishop O'Sullivan and Dr. Munro, Superintendent of Education ...va Scotia, Were the Speakers. Meeting Spo...
World Peace Crisis Is Near, Speakers Declare
...heldon, Sayre Hope to Abolish All Future Wars
...rect Definition Has At Last Been Derived
Crisis Faced
Debts, Unemploym... Armaments Form Evil Trinity
ANOTHER WAR MEANS DECLINE OF CIVILIZATION, W. E. SWEET TELLS BIG WICHITA AUDIENCE
...rmer Colorado Governor and Edward Joseph Garland, Canadian Law Maker, Give Peace Talks at ... lass Meeting Held at East High Monday Evening
WAR NOW WILL DESTROY WORLD, SPEAKER SAYS
9,000 at Auditorium Urge Hoover to Back Peace Move
CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE SUPPORTED AT MEETING HERE
Hope Expressed Bennett Will Implement Expressed Views at Disarmament Parley
RESOLUTION IS PASSED
Qualifications for Canada's Representatives at Geneva Conference Stron...
ENQUIRER, CINCINNATI
Arms Cut and U.S. Participation in League Advocated
Nine Hundred ... ing Educato...
THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN
DISARMAMENT OF MIND' PLEA OF PEACE ADVOCATES
1000 Persons Hear Three Visiting Educators Four Local Speak... Mass Meeti...
THE SYMPOSIUM ON PEACE
...ETWEEN the dates of October 25 and 31, 1931, P... symposiums will be held in 150 cities scattered across the United States and Canada. The meetings are being held under the auspices of "The World Tomorrow," ...ittee of 275 sponsors in the United Stat...
...ROUP JOINS IN APPEAL FOR U. S. PARTICIPATION IN DIRECT DISARMAMENT
THE CHARLOTTETOWN PATRIOT
Santa Ana Register
Pittsburgh Press
Wichita Eagle

International Commerce Must Abandon Coercion

There has not been a single year, if even a single day, since the World War Armistice, that the world has not been engaged in organized murder somewhere upon its surface, and in practically every case the leading civilized countries of Europe and America have been chief among the fighters, or instigating the fight or at least sitting armed on the sidelines ready for eventualities. . . .

The raw material which the new world industry devours comes ever more largely from the colored laborers and the backward countries of the world. A stream of rubber, sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, metals, fibers, spices, in addition to gold, silver, and diamonds, pours into the lap of Europe and America at a cost which is kept low. And back of all the devices for keeping this cost low has stood and must stand military power. . . . Through war and preparedness for war, we are herding the workers of the world and taking their raw material at the cheapest price. The resultant profit to manufacturers is so great that the manipulators of capital through world-wide gambling operations in the transfer of capital, and in the redirection of industry, are enabled to make fabulous sums, or in other words, to gain tremendous economic power. . . .

If you are thorough-going, if you mean the overthrow of the idea of war, if you envisage the same doing-away with arms among nations as we have largely accomplished among individuals in civilized communities, then the defenders of militarism see and see with perfect truth that the main foundations of present international commerce will be overthrown. And the stream of profit to Europe and America from Asia and Africa will be cut down, perhaps destroyed. In other words, real pacificism, as contrasted with piecemeal disarmament, means that Europe and America must give up their exploitation of wealth from the poor of the world and live upon their own labor and industry and upon a fair exchange with peoples who are able to bargain because they are free and uncowed by armies, navies, or airplanes.—*W. E. B. DuBois.*

The Price of Peace

Our task, stated in the simplest and most concrete terms, is to establish the new social order—that community of workers and of nations on which lasting peace depends. . . . Peace is no matter of mere sentiment, warm hearts, and hands across the sea. Peace is too great a blessing to be won at inconsiderable price. The gathering forces of revolt at home and abroad will not be subdued by violence, nor will they be controlled by trying to impose upon a divided society, greedy for profit and power and prestige, some last-minute machinery for the adjustment of quarrels. In an interdependent world the attempt to manage our common affairs under the anarchy of the profit system with no higher loyalty than a jingoistic nationalism is to accept the war psychology and ultimately the methods of war.

The price of peace is our capacity to make real the notion of a family of nations. To have peace means that men must love peace as eagerly and serve it as adventurously as they have served war. To make peace secure, as the great Gandhi has been trying to teach us, we must have a revolution in method as well as in the end sought. We must learn to struggle against injustice and for right by methods less destructive of the very things we seek than the ancient methods of war. All the forces of education, all the spiritual resources of mankind, must be summoned to the quest for peace. But these forces will fail unless they can express themselves in the achievement of that international coöperation—yes, let me say it, that international socialism—which is not, a some of our communist friends believe the sure outcome o inevitable war but rather the alternative to the catastrophe o war. . . .

World organization requires world planning, a world fisca system, and allocation of raw materials on an equitable basis fo the common good. Is this impossible? Then world peace is impos sible. It is not impossible unless we are prepared to abandon th will to life and to happiness. Bad as the times are, I believe tha mankind is ready for leaders who dare to speak out boldly. Th alleged backwardness of public opinion in America is born les of our ignorance and our base desires than of the failure of eithe of the existing great parties or their leaders to dare so muc as to discuss these issues which are our theme. The peac forces deserve some of the blame. They have been dull an cautious, too concerned for respectability, unaware of the rea price of peace. They have not used here in America effectiv political action and have usually ignored the Socialist Party, th one party whose philosophy and program make for peace.

At what minute the hand of fate will write the words "to late" over our efforts to avert war, I do not know. That drea hour has not yet struck. It will not strike at all if, with nev courage and energy, we seek that peace in which alone is lif and hope for ourselves and for the children we have dared t bring into this confused and troubled world. Not in debate bu in action will peace be won!—*Norman Thomas.*

Mass War Resistance

The whole world wants peace. Why, then, do we not tak and hold what we want? Does some irresistible impulse to destro spring up spontaneously now and then in a whole people? N As our former ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Houghton, ha pointed out, wars arise in an entirely different manner. Th people do not assume a fighting attitude until two things hav happened. First, until small coteries of men called governmen have manoeuvered their respective nations into positions antagonism. It is never the people themselves who do th manoeuvering; they are engaged, rather, in earning a livin Second, even when the nations are in an apparent impasse, eve then the people are disinclined to fight until organized propa ganda from above has put them into a state of fear and ange In November, 1916, we re-elected a President under the sloga "He kept us out of war." In the following April war w declared, but not by us the people who had expressed our desi for peace only five months before. War was declared for u not by us. A fighting mood did not become general until th country was inundated with propaganda that used every know device for awakening shudders of fear and ruthless pugnacit Our soldiers did not fight because they were bloodthirsty, n even because they felt themselves affronted by foreign power At one of the great training-camps an officer said, when he w asked concerning the attitude of the men, "With the exceptio of the Engineering Corps, these men do not know what the w is about. They do not desire to go overseas; three-quarters them would go home tomorrow if they could."

The way to get the peace that we desire is to take it by usi the superior authority that resides in majorities. Let us take th issue to the masses who furnish the soldiers and the work of han and brain that sustains armies when they fight; the masses wh

mately pay the cost; the plain people who, in every modern , are and must be defeated.

Many of us will be tempted to wait for opportunity to join already strong party or mass movement, being silent and ctive meanwhile. But the surest way to secure large-scale peration is to act now, in individual isolation if necessary. ters to our officers at Washington have real effect; open utter- e in the presence of fellow citizens influences public opinion; out-and-out war resister not only keeps his own conscience n—he makes other persons think. Those who hold with Mr. ef Justice Hughes that moral law has authority superior to t of the state can, if they will, break the force of the monstrous um of the majority of the Supreme Court to the effect that en Congress votes for war the citizen must accept this decision expressing the will of God. By joining now with small but ermined groups we can frustrade war-provoking naval poli- ; we have done it already. We have prevented war with xico by the same means. The steady pursuit of this individual cy—action here and now, with like-minded citizens if possible, alone if necessary—the steady pursuit of this policy, will duce in the end an irresistible mass movement.—*George A. Coe.*

Must Enlist Sacrifice for Peace

The war revealed in our men and women an unlimited capacity sacrifice. Dostoievsky in *The Brothers Karamazov* gives a king paraphrase of the temptations Jesus encountered in the derness. The first was: Feed men and then talk to them about tue. Men will follow the one who feeds them. "True", was answer, "the hunger of the world assures that response; but n will leave the one who offers them food for the one who eals to their conscience." This is an experience repeated right vn the ages, in no time more dramatically than in our own. ere were careers with the brightest promise before our men, e came to them in her fairest forms, in many cases ease and lth and power were theirs without asking and they left it all response to the call. Often and often it happened that in an ant a lad had to decide between saving his own life and saving comrades, and in cases without number the great surrender instantly made.

hat capacity for sacrifice is innate in our people, and unless ed in the highest direction it will develop in a lower. If all ask from the men of the future is to devote their lives to production of wealth and provision for luxury, they will leave hen high adventure calls for sacrificial action. If we call our to as great sacrifice for the upbuilding of the nation as we did the destruction of our enemies, they will answer with a far er enthusiasm. . . .

is always a temptation to judge war by its incidentals. There thrill in the march of armed men. War does give opportunity heroism. Human inventiveness and effort often reach their est point when the world's greatest meet on the opposite sides field of battle. These, I repeat, are by-products. The essence war is violence, and in it questions of right and humanity and ization are subordinated to the idea of doing the greatest n possible to the men opposed. The Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., Chaplains and their organizations, doctors and nurses and itals without number, tried to mitigate the horrors of war ministered to the men in every way open to them. All these s left intact the central wrong of the ages—that the ultimate ude of nation to nation when difficulty arises is a bayonet ted at the heart of each. The soldiers endured the horrors e war to put an end to this central wrong, and we are betraying the most sacred trust ever placed in a people if we fail to give effect to the principle for which they died.—*George C. Pidgeon.*

Out of the Ashes

Sometime when you older men are impatient with the younger, sometime when you say they are not supporting the church as you think they should, remember what your profession of the peace of God, what your claim about the brotherhood of man looked like from the perspective of "Over There." We who went out in that blindness do not want the church to forget how it made an armistice on the Gospel of Love, how it reverted to the Old Testament concept of a God of special favor to one race, how with hatred rampant in the back areas, the church was either too blind or too weak to do its job. If, in the wild confusion of that bitter lying called propaganda, there could have been one strong, sane voice calling out the Gospel of Love! The church did not. Consequently, it all but lost—the result is not yet sure—the best of my generation. If only there could have been the memory of courage. If only you had been willing to lose us then—and you would have. We would have ridiculed you, spat upon you, despised and rejected you, but we would have come back. Out of the ashes of a broken institution—because the world would have wrecked even the church for standing in its way—out of the ashes of the destroyed temples would have risen the Church of God again. We would have crept back, when it was over, and thanked God that in a mad world there was an institution which believed what it said. Either Christianity is true always, all the time, in all circumstances, or it is false. We want no religion which dares not assert the truth in time of difficulty.—*Allan Knight Chalmers.*

Crucifix Versus Sword

There is nothing radical nor revolutionary in the disarmament movement. In any event, dare we religionists be less true than a scientist, who has called upon his fellow-scientists to give no help nor furtherance to preparations for war? Einstein lately spoke thus to the War Resisters, taking his place as scientist with Copernicus, Laplace, and Newton—as prophet of humanity by the side of Moses and Isaiah and Jesus. As a teacher of the religion of the people Israel, I echo the command of Isaiah, "Ye shall beat,—not battleships into airplanes nor spears into submarine torpedoes,—but swords into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

I recall the chapter on "Crema and the Crucifix" in John Addington Symonds' *Sketches in Italy* in which he tells of a crucifix he found in Crema, twenty-one inches long, made of strong wood, and shod at the four ends with brass, bought from the Frati when their ministry in Crema was dissolved. "Under a little steel knob fixed into the back between the arms of the Christ figure there was a spring, and, when pressed, the upper and lower parts came down. Holding the top, I drew out from the scabbard a sharp steel blade concealed in the wood behind the very body of the Christ. What had been a crucifix became a deadly poinard in my grasp." A sword concealed in a crucifix!

If I were a Christian, I would say that crucifix and sword must part company—and part company forever. The churches of the world and the religious groups among men everywhere must unite to the end that disarmament come and war go—and go forever.—*Stephen S. Wise.*

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Money-Mad Gamblers

I imagine that future generations will ponder in amazement and amusement over the revelations of the ancient records of our time, revealing us in part as a nation of money-mad gamblers, untrained in the dangerous game we were playing, blindly following inflated men whom we believed to be great, and neither hearing nor heeding the voices of the few seers that were crying in the wilderness.—*Magnus W. Alexander, in an address delivered at the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of National Hotel Trades Association, at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 15, 1931.*

Lower Standards or Administrative Despotism?

The underworld is what it is largely because Americans are too moral to tolerate human weakness, and because they have too great love of liberty to tolerate the tyranny which might make it possible to abolish what they prohibit. . . . Sooner or later the American people will have to make up their minds either to bring their legislative ideals down to the point where they square with prevailing human nature or they will have to establish an administrative despotism strong enough to begin enforcing their moral ideals. They cannot much longer defy the devil with a wooden sword.—*Walter Lippmann, in The Forum, February, 1931.*

Business—Respectable and Otherwise

Let us admit that we, so-called racketeers, do "extort" money from so-called legitimate business establishments—what of it? Doesn't every other gang of business men do the same thing, one way or another? Isn't practically everything that is sold in America sold for more than it is worth—first by the manufacturer, then by the wholesaler, finally by the retailer? Business is a hold-up game from top to bottom. Those on top exploit those beneath them economically. Capital exploits labor—oh, and how! Big business screws small business. Of course they have made it legal and moral. They talk of Service with a capital S and join the Rotary, both the exploiters and the exploited who, in their turn, I've said, exploit someone below them.—*Louis Adamic, Dynamite, p. 369.*

Even If Moslems and Hindus Fight

The Scots allied themselves with the French for three hundred years and fought against England in all the wars of those countries; and then united with England and fought on England's side against France and the rest of the world. During the Civil Wars in England, the Scots fought against the king, then against the parliament, then for the king, and finally against the king, until political union put an end to the folly. England fought Spain in a desperate war to keep a Bourbon king from the Spanish throne, and a century later fought another desperate war allied with the Spanish people to retain the Bourbons on the Spanish throne. England fought on Holland's side against Spain to secure Dutch independence, and then fought three wars against Holland to prevent Dutch rivalry on the seas. The Dutch fought England, while fighting France, then joined the French against England, and finally were called upon to fight against both France and England.—*William I. Hull, The War-Method and the Peace-Method, p 331.*

Why Empires Crumble

The native, [in South Africa] for instance, is expected and he at present concurs, to make way for the white man on the foot path, not to sit until given permission, and, if sitting, to stand in the white man's presence, to come at a run when he calls, and to respond if he beckons, though he may be an utter stranger. It is accepted as a matter of course that farmers, planters and estate managers shall on occasion inflict corporal punishment, usually with a whip of rhino-hide, upon native labourers for insolence, theft, desertion, laziness, breakages, or what not.—*Captain W. Hichens, in the Fortnightly Review, February, 1931.*

A Crocodile and a Hyena

Each year we celebrate in serious and splendid fashion the anniversaries of the birth of Washington and Lincoln. We forget what was said of Washington and of Lincoln while they lived. Washington was a crocodile, a hyena, a deceiver, a double-dealer. A contemporary cartoon suggested that the guillotine might as properly be put into service for a president of the United States as for a king of France. "The American nation has been debauched by Washington," wrote Franklin's grandson; and a popular toast at the dinners of his political opponents was "A speedy death to General Washington." The clerk of the House of Representatives accused him of being a thief and of having overdrawn his salary. Thomas Paine denounced him as ungrateful and pusillanimous and as having brought upon America the loss of character from which in Paine's opinion our nation then suffered in the world. Similarly, Lincoln was covered with abuse in his lifetime.—*Nicholas Murray Butler, in These United States, March 23, 1931.*

Explaining the British Crisis

It is important to get out the facts, honestly and sharply. The City has been covering up its own reckless profiteering by an attack on the unemployed. Yet the facts are known. For several years the City has made a practice of lending large sums on short-term account to German and even to Austrian banks. The total of these short loans seems to be something over £100,000,000. . . . What the City in fact did was to borrow from the French at 3 per cent in order to lend to the Germans at 6 or 8 per cent. Then came the crash in Vienna; the Bank lent money. Next the crash in Berlin; and again the Bank lent more. The French, thereupon, had a vision; they saw the various banks, Austrian, German, and English, tied together like Alpine climbers above the abyss. Two of them had tumbled over; might they not drag the third with them? Acting on this vision they started a run on the Bank; in plain words, they called in their deposits. To save its gold reserves and maintain the exchange value of sterling, the Bank had to borrow. That, then, is the course of events which has exposed us to this humiliation. The "dole" has nothing whatever to do with it. What is at stake is the prestige of the City and its profits as an international usurer. If the "dole" has anything indirectly to do with it, it can only be this: that if the Government stopped borrowing for this purpose, more of the nation's credit would be available for the City's purposes.—*H. N. Brailsford, in The Living Age, October,* 1931.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Education and Social Change

lture and Education in America. By Harold Rugg. Harcourt Brace and Co. $3.

NO teacher in America envisages the educational task of our schools with more understanding than does Professor Rugg. s new book is rich in the presentation of historical material and losophical and sociological insights on the relation of education to e problem of building a more adequate social and economic struc-e. A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to a criticism of e philosophy of instrumentalism as a basis for educational theory. ie author criticizes Professor Dewey's philosophy on two counts. ith his first objection—that instrumentalism regards living and nking too much in the light of problem-solving and does not have olace for the "consummatory" experience—we feel a great deal sympathy. Life is not merely a series of problems to be solved d obstacles to be overcome; it yields enjoyments—social, artistic, igious, and philosophical—in which reality is grasped and held thout regard to what may come thereafter. Professor Rugg's alysis of these consummatory experiences is a real contribution to ilosophy as well as to educational theory.

His criticism of Dewey's philosophy of society is not so convinc-. In his opinion, Dewey emphasizes the social whole, in which ch of us lives his life, too consistently and does not do justice to e possibilities of individual freedom and initiative. His emphasis on the individual leads him to the naïve assumption that an ade-ate educational program will create individuals with the historic- and social perspective as well as the moral energy to change odern society, initiate a more adequate distribution of wealth, d destroy the centralization of power which the modern machine d the capitalistic system have created. Surely this is a romantic pe. It is hardly to be distinguished from the hope of certain oes of liberal churchmen who imagine that they are going to ange the structure of society by a few more sermons on Christian e and the social gospel. It fails completely to do justice to the t that the number of individuals who have a perspective upon ir society which completely transcends the interests of their nomic group will always be small, no matter how adequate ir education or how sensitive their moral insights. It does not ray at a single point what every realist must know: that social nge can never come solely by educational procedure or social ight among the privileged groups, but that political and eco-nic pressure must be used by the disinherited groups. This does , of course, render Professor Rugg's social awareness unneces-y. Without it, social change could come only by conflict. With social change may come through qualified conflict, conflict ich does not break into violence.

When an educator so fully aware of social and economic impli-ions as Dr. Rugg can trust the educational process as completely he does, one wonders what can be expected of the average mass of pedagogues who have no conception of these realities. Neither our educators nor our religious and ethical leaders seem to have any real understanding of the stubborn resistance which every effort toward social change must meet not only among the unenlightened but among the enlightened members of privileged groups as well. Their theories therefore have a quality of naïveté and romanticism which makes pure economic determinism seem like the final and ultimate truth.

R. N.

The Public Utility Octopus

Power Ethics. By Jack Levin. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.

THIS volume is an excellent analysis of the activities of public utility interests in the United States, based on a study of the United States Federal Trade Commission records. The author shows that these utilities have used tactics which rival the worst methods of the brewery interests prior to prohibition.

Here we see the sinister picture of a national, state, and local network of propaganda spread by agencies that do not hesitate to disguise their activities behind universities, college professors, and newspaper editors, agencies that openly circulate false statements and stoop to all sorts of deception and deceit. It should be very revealing to some universities to find how easily they have been used by these interests. It will be a shock to the ordinary reader to realize that the public utilities, in order to create favorable public sentiment, are spending annually more than a million dollars on their propaganda machinery and, in addition, thirty millions in advertising. All of this costs the public utilities nothing, for they simply add such expenses to the cost which the consumers (you and I, that is) pay for electric light.

The author has used the method of letting the sworn testimony before the Federal Trade Commission speak for itself. Of necessity this makes the material not quite as easy reading, but it means that the evidence is largely incontrovertible.

There are few other industries which are so completely monopolized as electricity, and so unscrupulous. It is a fair question whether the electric power interests will control the democratic state, or whether government will in the end control them in the interests of all the people. In any case, there is no moral and ethical issue confronting the American people, not even prohibition, which more urgently needs the consideration of every citizen. Here is a book presenting facts which all of us should know.

JEROME DAVIS

Could Teach Tammany New Tricks

Graft in Business. By John T. Flynn. Vanguard Press. $3.00.

ONE of the most familiar arguments against public ownership in the United States is that politicians are habitual grafters while private business men are honest and efficient. The men who spread this popular formula are usually nourished on the *Saturday Evening Post* and their own dividend checks, but the belief also persists to an amazing degree in the universities where independent analysis should long ago have proved its falsity.

Mr. Flynn gives this argument its *coup de grace.* He demolishes the myth that American business is cleaner than politics. "The average politician," he says, "is the merest amateur in the gentle art of graft compared with his brother in the field of business." Whereupon he marshals examples of commercial bribery, railroad wrecking, banking steals, bonus grabs, and corporate legerdemain.

When a politician accepts a bribe he stands upon a hill. The purchases of the government are public purchases and the prices paid are matters of public record. When a manufacturer of glue pays five per cent of gross sales to the superintendent of a phonograph factory to guarantee that the phonograph company will buy his glue exclusively, the transaction is hid in the shadows. It comes to light only in the event of a law suit or complaint to the Federal Trade Commission, as it did in the case of the Baeder-Adamson Company and the makers of Victor talking-machines. This type of commercial bribery exists in almost every sphere of American business and takes a toll from the consumers and workers of more than one billion dollars a year. That is enough to pay all the old-age pensions needed in America and leave a handsome surplus for unemployment relief.

But the salesman's graft is only pin money compared to the takings of the high insiders of corporate finance. "It's no use preaching to the subordinates about shying away from graft," says Mr. Flynn, "when they know that their betters enjoy a form of graft of their own." The high insiders of the St. Paul railroad forced it into bankruptcy by looting it through a power company of their own. The high insiders of the Frisco milked it by buying up lesser railroad lines and selling them at a profit to their own stockholders. Dillon, Read and Company accomplished the feat with the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company by putting themselves in complete control and thereupon paying almost a million dollars of the company's funds in two years for the semi-fictitious services of their own management subsidiary.

Eugene G. Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Company skimmed his annual cream of $814,000 for eight years by virtue of a bonus arrangement voted by directors who also stuck their noses into the cream saucer. The sad part about Grace's story and the story of Doheny, Sinclair, and the other magicians of oil is that the business world does not condemn them. Dillon, Read and Company are still highly respectable, and so is Colonel Stewart of former Standard Oil fame who devised that "corporate ghost" the Continental Trading Company, to buy 33,333,333 barrels of oil at $1.50 a barrel and sell it to himself at $1.75 a barrel to the ultimate glory of Albert B. Fall and the Republican Party.

For the time being there is great public indignation against graft in banks. The luckless bank president who is caught red-handed today has little chance of reprieve. But Mr. Flynn shows that many of the practices for which bankers are imprisoned are almost universal in the banking field. The difference between a banker in prison and a banker in church may be wholly accidental. The men who wrecked the Bank of United States New York by using the bank's money for their own profit throu affiliates and holding companies were doing nothing extraordinar "The acts which were responsible for the destruction of th institution," says Mr. Flynn, "are those which now characteri the tendency in bank management."

Mr. Flynn shies away from bitter herbs and surgery, professi to chide business not as a muckraker but as a friend. H "proposed medicine" is disappointingly homeopathic. He wou abolish holding companies altogether by Federal law; he wou compel complete publicity for all corporate finance including t stock holding and salaries of all corporation officials; he wou express the profits of investment bankers in definite and limit fees; he would discourage all non-voting stock in corporation he would separate the control of corporations into dual board one for management purposes and one for supervisory and inves ment purposes.

That is good medicine, even if it is only the first dose! M Flynn's most valuable contribution lies in his spicy and readab description of the sore spots of our business system. He is o experienced business writer who has broken away from what l calls "those parasitic gentlemen of the quill and cloth and t academy who have invented a form of graft of their own," fawning with silly adulation upon the masters of America business.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Contemporary Social Trends

Contemporary Social Movements. By Jerome Davis. Centu Co. $5.00.

PROFESSOR DAVIS has brought together in this volume vast body of material describing and analyzing the imm diate and practically significant social movements in the conte porary world. The most basic of these is the peace movem for it is becoming increasingly clear that war is destructive the higher social values, and that, when it does not positive check the growth of liberal ideas upon which programs domestic reconstruction depend, it destroys the resources ava able for progress and creates new problems which re-direct t interests and energies of society into other channels.

Preceding the peace movement in the author's discussion, a directly opposed to it in its underlying philosophy of inte nationalism, is fascism. The other social movements consider are directed primarily toward economic reconstruction a comprise socialism, communism, the British Labor Party, t coöperative movement, and American trade-unionism. We a given a brief survey of each of these movements, its history a its leaders, followed by a statement of its theory and progra the consequences and criticisms of the movement, and an es mation of its significance for the United States.

The volume has the defects of its virtues. It is largely a bo of theory. It endeavors to present the doctrines and policies each movement in the words of its own leaders. Consequentl the programs presented are the ideal formulations of advocat rather than factual descriptions of events in process. This i of course, excellent in its way, but more attention should ha been given to actual results. Moreover, where the profession student of society will demand more factual data substantiati Professor Davis's introductory chapter devoted to the theory social movements, and the general reader will desire to ha

s theory more definitely developed in the body of the book, literary critic will be irritated by frequently stumbling over h naive expressions as "sociologically speaking, we may say" "as students of sociology we know." On the whole, however, ofessor Davis has produced an excellent volume which, if it uld be widely read, would bring about a considerable deflation the American market of the perennial wares of Fish commit-s, radical hunters, red baiters, and professional patrioteers.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Christianity's Social Teaching

ie Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. By Ernst Troeltsch. Translated by Olive Wyon. Macmillan Co. 2 vols. $15.00.

T is a misfortune that some of the finest products of German thought must wait such a long time before they are made avail-le to English readers. Yet, since a good many books are never anslated at all, we may qualify our regret with gratitude when really first-rate translation of an important German book does pear. Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teaching of the Christian urches* is in this class. Troeltsch, a master in the fields of ilosophy, sociology, and history, as well as theology, gave us the uit of his genius in this comprehensive analysis of the ethical achings of the Christian churches from apostolic times down to e present century. It is more than a record of social and ethical titudes in religious institutions. It represents the effort of a nd of extraordinary acuteness to comprehend and explain the ing relationship between religious dogma and experience and e social and ethical life of the various periods of Christian his-ry. The years of friendly coöperation between Max Weber, e sociologist, and Troeltsch, the theologian, is a romance of ademic partnership which fructified the achievements of both en. Only recently Weber's work, *Protestantism and Capitalism,* s been translated into English, thereby enabling American read-s to study the analyses of the two men together.

Everyone who has permitted himself judgments on the failure the Christian church to achieve an adequate ethic for the civiliza-n in which we live will find it necessary to re-examine his inions in the light of this exhaustive analysis of the ethical fruits d the social failures of Christianity. It is particularly fortunate at the translator and the publishers have dared to give the work Troeltsch in full without eliminating the voluminous footnotes ich, after the fashion of German scholarship, are frequently re important than the body of the text.

R. N.

All Too Human

Families Under Heaven. By Georg Fink. Translated by Lillie C. Hummel. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

HIS gentle Jewish mother was cast off by her father, a mill-owner in a gloomy little border town on the Oder. She d run away with the tall blond mill hand because he was ndsome and because he had for her the glamor of another race. t race conflict scarcely enters into the narrative. There is nty of conflict, but it is class conflict and the age-old conflicts tween parents and children, between lovers, between brothers d sisters, between neighbors. The story is filled with rather re than less of human nature in the raw.

Perdita little realized, when she cheerfully went to Berlin with r lover, the misery and degradation to which her child would l heir. It was a boy, Teddy, and his first cry was: "I am hungry." Hungry all of his slum-spent life. He ardently loved his mother who was slowly being crushed by poverty and the indignities of a drunken swine. His younger brother became a gangster and his sister a harlot, but when he himself had the chance to move away from this terror, he found himself unable to leave. He and the slums had lived together too long.

31 Families Under Heaven will be regarded by some as vulgar and sensual; others will dismiss it as just another sociological novel. The first objection is irrelevant for much of modern life is irretrievably vulgar; moreover, the author's artistic skill and discrimination make this a book of high merit for all except the hopelessly prim. The second objection is inexcusable in an age when vast multitudes are more than ever before condemned to hopelessly stunted lives by conditions which are surely not inevitable.

The setting of the book happens to be Berlin. But Hugh Redwood has recently written of similar conditions in English cities, and few people in America can any longer remain ignorant of how our "other half" lives. Fink portrays the consequences both to the rich and the poor of our unequal social system, and paints particularly vivid pictures of what our much lauded cities do to human beings. Social workers will want to read the book, and teachers of Christian ethics will be tempted to put it on their reserve shelves.

ERIC H. THOMSEN

Citizenship in Theory and Practice

All in the Racket. By William E. Weeks. Charles Boni. $1.00.
Citizenship. By Charles Hartshorn Maxon. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

HERE is reading both light and heavy. The light reading is an exciting little tale of the great American racketeering industry, written (from the facts) by a Boston lawyer. The heavy reading is a much larger bookful about the status, rights, and duties of the several classes of citizens, natural and corporate. It is written by a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. Both volumes are exceedingly informative. Maxon tells us, with chapter and verse citations to decision and to statute, everything there is to know about the citizenship status of various kinds of individuals who live in this land of the partially free. Weeks, on the other hand, tells us that a citizen cannot be sure he will not be tried, convicted, and executed for a crime of which he was innocent. And many of us are pretty well convinced that this, unhappily, is so, even though not a single foot-note punctuates the story. Indeed, any one tolerably familiar with the facts of the Mooney case in California and the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts can write his own foot-notes. The light reading also tells us that some citizens carry on, in organized fashion, enterprises without the law—rackets, in other words; that these racketeers buy the protection of officers who wield the police power; that citizens are compelled to buy "protection" (which they should get from the police) from the racketeers, or be "put on the spot"—or at least forced out of business—by these gentlemen.

After reading *All in the Racket* and seeing how Paul Sella, innocent of the murder, is nevertheless tried for it before a jury of his peers, found guilty by them and put to death by the state, one turns to the big book by Maxon with the heavy feeling that all this is something intimately related to citizenship and with a faint hope that in the big book there may be discernible

some clue to the causes of or the cure for the appalling conditions pictured in the little book. For one of the thirty chapters in the big book is about "the right to grand and petit juries" and another is about "justice through judges learned in the law". But this reviewer finds nothing in the big book that seems relevant to what is in the little book. Perhaps he expects too much. After all, the big volume is dealing only with "the law in the books", while the little one is preoccupied with "the law in action" which, the author concludes, is something quite different.

PAUL F. BRISSENDEN

WE RECOMMEND

Albert Schweitzer. By John Dickinson Regester. Abingdon Press. $1.50. The most versatile and brilliant of all modern missionaries is here presented as man, musician, theologian, and philosopher, as well as friend of African black folks.

The Universe: From Crystal Spheres to Relativity. By Frank Allen. Harcourt Brace and Co. $2.00. A popular presentation in brief outline of the story of natural science from the earliest Greeks to Einstein and the moderns.

The Road Back. By Erich Maria Remarque. Little, Brown & Company. $2.50. The author of *All Quiet on the Western Front* shows how war disqualifies soldiers for civilian life. Like its predecessor, this volume is well written and carries with it a ring of reality.

The World of the New Testament. By T. R. Glover. Macmillan Co. $2.00. The mind of the Jew, the Greek and the Roman contrasted by a well known authority. An illuminating inventory of the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the Roman Empire is included.

Race Mixture. By Edward Byron Reuter. Whittlesley House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.50. A study of racial amalgamation in the United States. The author takes the position that the inherent biological superiority of the white race has not been proved. He accounts for the superior achievement of the mulatto on ground of marriage selection. The lighter shades, having a superior social status, have married within their own ranks, or have attracted the more accomplished men of blacker hue.

Stresemann. By Antonina Vallentin Luchaire. Richard R. Smith. $4.00. Frau Luchaire, a German woman who moved in Gustave Stresemann's most intimate political circles, has not only written an extremely interesting biography and appreciation of Germany's great foreign minister and most renowned post-war statesman but also a chapter in the history of Germany and post-war Europe. The book casts many a ray of illumination upon the international politics which resulted in Ruhr occupation and evacuation, the stabilization of the mark, Locarno, the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations and the Dawes Plan. Not the least interesting revelation of the book is the significant part played by the British ambassador Lord d'Abernon and by an unofficial French ambassador, Professor Haguenin, in the development of post-war politics in Germany.

Tolstoy. Edited by René Fülöp-Miller. Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press. New York. $5.00. Literary fragments, letters and reminiscences not previously published.

The Physical Basis of Personality. By Charles Stockard. Norton. $3.50. An authoritative discussion by a professor of anatomy of the influence of physiological facts upon character and behavior.

Mexican Maze. By Carleton Beals. J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.00. Pen pictures of peoples, customs and institutions by a recognized authority on Mexico. A selection of the Book League of America.

Paul: The Christian. By the author of "By An Unknown Disciple." Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50. This anonymous writer possesses illuminating insights and a fascinating style. This fiction-biography furnishes a good approach to a personality who is neglected in these days.

Liberalism in Mexico. By Wilfrid Hardy Callcott. Stanford University Press. $5.00. A scholarly history covering the period 1857-1929, well documented and with ample bibliographies.

The Red Fog Lifts. By Albert Muldavin. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00. A series of personal experiences and observations, interestingly sketched by a Wall Street man who visited Russia after an absence of twenty-five years.

Fellowship Principles and Practices. Edited by Malcolm Spencer and H. S. Hewish. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Two Shillings and Sixpence. The values of corporate silence, worship and discussion are outlined by an English group after long experimentation. Several local examples of rewarding group action are described.

I Tell Everything: The Brown Man's Burden. By Edward Holton James. Imprimerie Kundig, Geneva, Switzerland. $3.50. A travel story of an American's journey through India. The author is an ardent admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and India in general, and displays strong anti-British feelings. The volume is excellently illustrated.

A Life of Jesus. By Basil Mathews. Richard R. Smith, Inc. $3.00. This volume deserves the highest possible praise. It contains a wealth of historical information and is written in a fascinating style. The alternatives before Jesus are graphically portrayed, and the reasons for his major decisions are presented in an illuminating manner. An ideal gift for young people.

Dangerous Drugs. By Arthur Woods. Yale University Press. 123 pp. $2.00. An analysis of the narcotic drug traffic by the former assessor to the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs of the League of Nations. Among the points taken up are: the nature of drugs, the users, the nature of the traffic, and what measures are necessary to cope with the situation.

Social Welfare and Professional Education. By Edith Abbott. University of Chicago Press. 173 pp. $2.00. A collection of addresses and papers by the Dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. The importance of cooperation between the university and social organizations, as well as the problem of how social welfare work may become more scientific is stressed.

CORRESPONDENCE

In Behalf of Aliens

I THANK you for your frequent references to my bill (H. R. 3547) intended to prevent the Naturalization Bureau from sking stupid hypothetical questions as to the religious or philoophical opinions of aliens seeking American citizenship; also for our courage (displayed in the October issue) in printing the iews of poor misguided patriots who are suffering from mental stigmatism. Enclosed herewith is my check for a year's subcription beginning with the October issue.

ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

More About General MacArthur's Speech

IT must have occurred to some of your readers that many of the words attributed to or spoken by General MacArthur, as eported in Professor Fey's article, in your October issue, are not riginally his but are almost verbatim extracts from John Carter's ook *Man Is War,* published in 1926.

I give you the following quotations from *Man Is War:*

"The cardinal impulse of the typical human society is toward ar, and the nemesis of the typical social unit is its inability to scape from the destiny of its own character." (p. 2.)

"The imperious urgency of self-preservation, self-perpetuation, elf-aggrandizement." (p. 5.)

"Conquest over beasts, over natural obstacles and forces, and ver other men are the stigmata of his progress and bear witness o an insatiable ferocity which, in its essence, is war." (p. 5.)

"War is inherent in the Atlantic way of life. And war will ersist until the Atlantic races achieve a spiritual abdication in hich they will prefer to abandon to others the fruit of their abors, scorn to receive more than they give, cast aside their resent ideals of manhood and honor, and substitute for them the leak ideas of service and self-effacement." (p. 6.)

"The answer to the bitter question, 'Why war?' is the still ore bitter reply, 'Man is war.' Until man has mastered himself, he world is no closer to its desire to escape from its destiny of uffering, hatred, bloodshed and violence." (p. 15.)

ALFRED SCHMALZ

Plymouth Congregational Church, Belmont, Mass.

MacDonald Not a Sentimentalist

YOUR November editorial on the situation in Great Britain seems to me so far from understanding the real issues that must beg you to allow me to comment upon it. The magnifient work that your paper is doing, and my own admiration for , only make me wish more earnestly to ask for this favor.

You say that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald "is something of a entimentalist" and that "to allow himself to be used by the ory Party . . . is a rather sad ending of a political career."

I have not got a dictionary by me, but I have always believed hat sentimentality was insincere emotion; that is to say emotion which the sentimentalist indulged without taking the responbility of his emotions or expressing them in action. How is it ossible for anyone who has watched the career of Mr. Ramsay IacDonald to accuse him of such an offence? From the time hen, as a boy, he became a Socialist, he has "taken the responsibility of his emotions"—and of his opinions—with a sincerity which has made him alternately the most unpopular and the most popular of men; and through both these extremes of opinion about him, he has never for an instant deflected from his path. When Mr. MacDonald was a boy, to be a Socialist was to be a pariah. He fought his way through that, right up to August, 1914, when war broke out and he became more of a pariah than ever. Not only his political career but his very life was often in danger.

He lost his seat in the "Khaki" election by the largest majority which had up till then been recorded against any British candidate for Parliament. No one then believed that he would ever have a political career again.

You must know as well as anyone what it costs to be on the side of a reasonable peace in war-time, but even you and others like you only suffered this martyrdom for a short time, America coming into the war towards its close. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald endured it from the beginning, in a country which was in the war for over four years.

I believe that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has been absolutely right in the course he has taken during the last few months; and, while I deplore the landslide which has left Labor only fifty-one Members of Parliament, and the Conservative Party in an enormous numerical majority, I still feel he has been right, and that it was the mistake of the Labor Party as a whole which has led to their temporary disappearance and to his isolation.

You, of course, are entitled to believe that it was Mr. MacDonald who was mistaken. But have you a right to attribute this mistake to sentimentality, or to speak of the Prime Minister's political career as at an end? As he himself said in my hearing a few days ago when someone else prophesied his end: "There were thousands of people who said that in August, 1914!"

It is unsafe to predict the future of a man who has suffered such extremes of fortune as Mr. MacDonald, but it is worse than unsafe to attribute sentimentality to a man of such proved moral courage.

London, England A. MAUDE ROYDEN

An Open Letter to Senator Borah

THE address delivered by you on the occasion of the inauguration of the William Edgar Borah Foundation for the Outlawry of War, at Moscow, Idaho, is a remarkable one. Your tribute to Mr. S. O. Levinson, who established the foundation, is very fine, and your pronouncement in regard to the Peace Pact is what would be expected from the man who guided the destinies of the Pact through the Senate and succeeded in having it passed by an almost unanimous vote. . . .

It is because the beginning and end of your fight for peace is found in the peace Pact that some people do not think you are a sincere believer in peace. . . . You say that you will not purchase peace at the price of your own convictions. Nor will you compromise by one hair's breadth in order to coöperate with others when the freedom of the United States to make war under certain conditions is questioned. It is not your sincerity that one would question but the strange working of your mind. As an illustration, take your address on the occasion to which reference is herein made. You said: "There are some things in this world more to be desired than peace, and one of them is the unembarrassed and unhampered and untrammeled political independence of this republic—the right and power to determine in every crisis, when

that crisis comes, untrammeled by any previous commitments, the course which it is best for the people of this nation to pursue. If peace cannot be had without our surrendering that freedom of action, then I am not for peace."

If one did not know the author of this statement, one would say that it might be the late Emperor of Germany, or Clemenceau of France, in his most fiery moment, or General Harbord addressing the American Legion, or General Smedley Butler talking to the marines; but it is you, Senator Borah, talking about the effect of the establishment of the World Court. As a piece of oratory your speech would grace any Fourth of July occasion. It readily recalls the bellicose Roosevelt when addressing Emperor William of Germany at the time of his review of the German army.

In view of your determined opposition to the World Court, you clearly point to this body in your reference to "the unembarrassed, unhampered and untrammeled political independence of this republic." This is hard to explain in view of the fact that by the protocols now before the Senate, the United States would submit only such questions for judgment as, at the time the controversy arises, our government would care to submit. Again the protocol of adherence gives the United States absolute veto power against the rendition of advisory opinions on any subject which we do not want submitted to the World Court. Our government need no more fear becoming a member of the World Court under the treaty than it fears the result of signing the hundreds of treaties already in existence and to which it is a party. Wherein, Senator Borah, do you consider the United States embarrassed, hampered and trammeled and its political independence impaired, if it joins the World Court? . . .

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In that part of your speech where you explain what is mea by "implementing the Peace Pact" you call the doctrine of for "hideous, hellish and brutal," while in another part of your spee you state that you would sacrifice peace to maintain "a cour which it is best for this nation to pursue." Consistency, thou a a jewel!

Again you say: "I have no language to "express my horror this proposal to build peace treaties or peace schemes upon th doctrine of force. I never have and never shall support a scheme of peace based upon the use of force in international co troversies. The revolting inconsistency of employing war to mai tain peace is the doctrine of a Cæsar, of a Napoleon, of Cromwell."

But you would maintain the prestige of the United States by forc You would compel all countries which stood in the way of pur suing any course which the United States Senate thought be for the people, regardless of its effect upon other nations, to subm or go to war. Unhampered pursuit of trade has again and agai been justified in the Senate as a reason for the United States goin to war. . . . You refer to those who would employ war to maintai peace as being "revoltingly inconsistent," but you are no less in consistent as an advocate of the Peace Pact when you woul sacrifice peace if the political independence of this country wer involved. You demand independent, perfect freedom of actio with all the consequences that may arise from it, regardless o the rights of other nations.

In no public body is the hang-over from the war period mor manifest than in the United States Senate. European statesme have shown since the war that they can adapt their thinking t the new internationalism, but I cannot find that you have show any such adaptability—with the exception of your notable con tribution to the movement for the outlawry of war.

It is a grave question, in this crisis in the world's history, whethe you are justified in the type of nationalism which you advocate i your Moscow speech.

Denver, Col. William E. Sweet

Who Speaks for Nicaragua?

Antonio Barberena, respected resident of Granada a leading member of the Liberal Party, Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Moncada, reputed to be the government's "favorite son" for the presidential elections of 1932, safe, solid and substantial, was speaking in an even voice. His opinions, so he said, were those "of the majority of Nicaraguans." That is, he was the spokesman of a nation and his words were to be received with due weight. Evidently he himself considered them worthy of some attention. For three days after our conversation, his remarks, amplified and polished for the public view, were cabled to the New York press. Said Mr. Barberena: "The stay of the marines in Nicaragua is highly beneficial. They have maintained an unalterable and effective peace. [Sandino's name was not permitted to crack the smooth finish of the picture.] In addition to political peace, American intervention is giving us also economic and commercial stability."

Why is it that, unlike leaders in Haiti, the Philippines and India—countries of more or less analagous situation—political chieftains of Nicaragua welcome rather than oppose foreign intervention and control? How do they "get that way"?

For one reason, the history of the past twenty years, since the beginning of the intervention, has conditioned them to believe

at United States favor is a prime essential for successful rule. politician in Nicaragua who is *persona non grata* at the Amer- an Legation has a dead future. Therefore flatter the damn ankees in a loud voice.

Second, experience has proved that it is easier to govern in icaragua with the support of foreign bayonets. As long as ashington smiles, one can laugh at the frowns of public opinion d the growls of the opposition.

But hypocrisy and expediency do not tell the whole story. Under- ing both is a third and fundamental reason in the form of the ost bitter factionalism in all Central America. Nicaragua's two litical parties, dating back to the days of independence a century o, centering in rival cities, hate each other like family feudists. artizanship crowds patriotism against the rail. If American tervention helps you to win, it is "highly beneficial."

Finally, unlike the Philippines and India, Nicaragua has known at a possible alternative to foreign control is revolution and vil war. The choice lies between the security of dependence and e risks of independence. So the politicians are for the intervention.

But there are other spokesmen for Nicaragua. The same morn- g of the interview in Granada, a much more dramatic story d broken in Leon, ninety miles away. (It is an interesting com- entary that American news agencies had nothing to say about e latter). The university students had spoken, almost silently, t with an eloquence which may travel far. With gags across their ouths, hands bound behind their backs, they paraded the streets, llowing a coffin placarded "The Constitution." A week before, eir annual "fiesta" had been broken up because they had ven- red to burlesque one of the Liberal leaders and it was an merican officer, a representative of the intervention, who rang wn the curtain on their show. Though their mouths were opped, their feet were not tied, and on Sunday came the mute otest.

At the University, where the funeral demonstration ended, her American officers endeavored to prohibit their speeches. As ual, attempted repression almost led to a dangerous explosion. he crowd became angry. Unarmed though the students were, airs were brandished, paving stones were snatched up from the reet. "Long live a Free Nicaragua and Death to the Yankees" ere the cries. Here sounded a different note from that of the liticians. As on observer remarked: "It was the expression of e ground swell in popular feeling of a people who do not wel- me, however much their leaders so proclaim it, the rule of ose of alien speech, alien customs, and alien standards."

None of the leading newspapers in Nicaragua print criticisms the intervention. Perhaps it is cowardice, perhaps a weary rudence due to the fact that papers which committed that im- ropriety in the past have lost either their mailing rights or their litors. During the past year, however, many small and informal dependent journals have sprung up. A quotation from *La Patria,* lited by students, may give a flavor of the rest. "We cry to the orld our energetic protest against the intervention; the hate our people for that other race in imperial control of our soil. Ve have clashed with the barbarians from North America because e have never accepted and never will accept an intervention hich is degrading, brutal, and savage. We still have ideals of berty which we can never forget. Let the whole world know at our country endures this affront only because it is in bonds."

San Jose, Costa Rica CHARLES A. THOMSON

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The Last Page

THE horrors of war! An English lad gazing, fascinated, at the saw which amputated Lord Nelson's arm and then at the model of the Victory, his famous ship. A young American girl staring, fascinated, at the guillotine knife which lopped off the heads of Louis and Marie Antoinette. Ten Frenchmen standing struck with patriotic awe before Napoleon's tomb. Tourists in a steady stream pouring out of trenches—I mean buses—over Hill 60 and across Hell Fire Corner, buying helmets (those with bullet holes cost more) and old trench knives. Fifty holiday makers visiting a British war cemetery in Flanders . . . by the gate the customary stone cross with a sword, cross-shape, carved deep . . . each gravestone bearing the Cross of Christ . . . "a boy of only fourteen lies buried here." . . . "Click! Click! Click!" go the busy cameras. . . .

And Eccentricus standing, fascinated, as well as charmed before a beautifully engraved Florentine cannon, the breech of which is a head of St. Paul, looking (St. Paul, not Eccentricus) if the truth be told, not a little ill at ease. . . .

* * *

BUT none the less, across a Flanders field, not one hundred feet from an old German dug-out, a mowing machine rattles blithely through yellow grain, driven by a Belgian farmer. Inscription on the side in bold, white letters: KRUPP.

* * *

BEGINNING of a beautiful argument. Said he: "Now, when I want to convert a person to a progressive point of view, I don't give him anything advanced or radical—I give him THE WORLD TOMORROW."

* * *

LINES from a Hollywood song-hit film witnessed in The Hague: "But like all the Dutch, he talks much too much. . . ."

* * *

THE Russian system? "Chaos."
The world-wide chaos? "The capitalist system."

* * *

QUEEN WILHEMINA goes skating, winters, among her people just as one of them. No formality, no guards. Comment by Eccentricus, determined to get his point across: "This shows the comparative safety of a ruler in a small democratic country, doesn't it?" Dutch host: "Not so, or not so necessarily. It only shows that the Dutch have an impregnable defense and so are unafraid. They are ready with six-inch cannon mounted to shoot Limburger cheeses in all directions from the Royal Palace."

* * *

ACCORDING to the eulogistic tourist leaflets, there are fully twenty places along the Mediterranean which are hallowed and celebrated by a one-time visit from Queen Victoria. Not being snooty, however, I made up my mind that come what might, I should not leave the region merely on that account.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS, I am a sensitive person. Even if I do act a little like a wisecracker now and then, I want it distinctly understood that I will tolerate no disrespect. No! If you ever smile when reading this department, I want to know that you are laughing *with* my jokes, not *at* them.

* * *

THE ways of labor, no less than those of capital, are some times past finding out. I recall how one time the A. F. of L. wanted work kept up on the construction of certain war vessels because this would relieve unemployment. In England, the *Daily Herald,* labor's great newspaper, once broke out into exuberant headlines, because a British factory had received an order for 200 military airplanes, bombers and gassers, from the Belgian government. It is still very hard for many people to imagine what would happen to all the good things in the world if the supreme evil of war were to be taken away. They are like the dear old long-ago lady of Scotland, who, when she heard that kerosene lamps were becoming the rage, lifted her hands in horror and exclaimed, "Now what's to become of the puir whales?"

* * *

TO any traveler, however abstemious, food oftentimes becomes a real obsession. Eccentricus will never forget his first breakfast chocolate in a little town south of the Pyrenees, which was so thick (the chocolate, not the town) that it had to be diluted extensively before it even became pliable. He has the capacity, even now, of feeling pain at the recollection of the huge plateful of Valencia Dish—which, compared to the more celebrated *bouilleabaisse* of Marseilles, is the apotheosis of complexity—he dutifully disposed of under the misapprehension that it was the *pièce de résistance* when, in fact, it was only an entrée to be followed by three meat courses. He has luxuriated in *Kaffee mit schlagroom* in Holland and *Kaffee mit doppelschlag* in Vienna, as a relief from the usual European coffee which, he avows, is brewed from rain water and cigar stubs and scarcely improved by the long, coagulated strings of boiled milk. Eccentricus believes that milk should be unsophisticated, not hard-boiled. Though there was a man once, so I have heard, who saved his life in a hotel fire by hurriedly straining his morning *café au lait,* plaiting the milk into a rope and sliding down to safety.

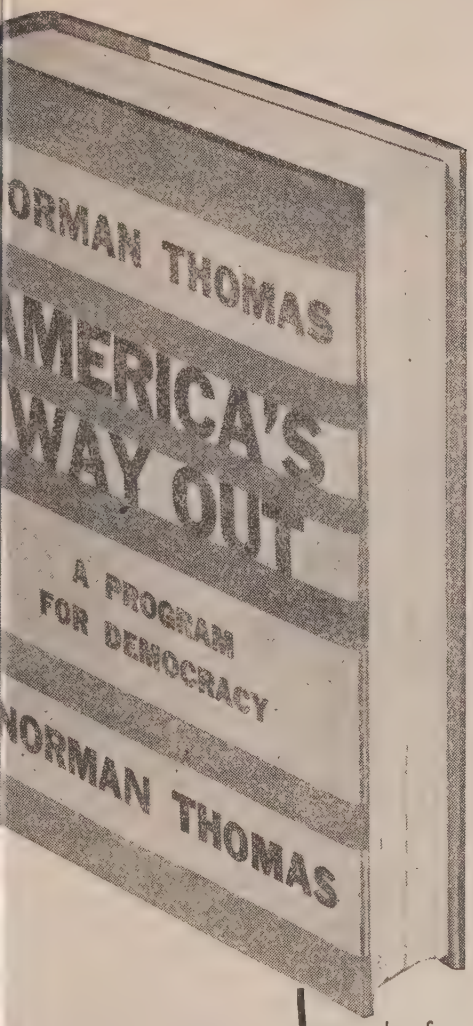
* * *

PLACE names are always a mystery. Just as, in birddom, a Philadelphia warbler hardly ever visits Philadelphia (maybe he *does* know the town) and the Connecticut warbler may be seen anywhere better than Connecticut, so it goes with foodstuffs. We all know the home state of Bermuda onions; the Japanese are famous for China tea; chop suey is not eaten by the real Chinese; and for every Brussels sprout eaten in the Belgian capital there are by actual count, 7,853,201 consumed in London.

Thus Eccentricus was a bit cautious, even though famished, one day on Brussels' rue Neuve when he saw an appetizing ball of raw Hamburger steak with an egg broken over it, beneath a window sign which read, breathlessly, as if announcing the latest thing: *"Filet Americain."* If several Englishmen hadn't been about, and if all Englishmen didn't expect Americans to say, "Oh, boy!" Eccentricus would have said it. But inside, the waitress cheerfully mixed up some raw Hamburger with raw egg, raw onion, raw mustard, raw olive oil, raw salt and pepper, raw capers (yet she preserved decorum all the while), raw tomatoes, and set it all on a raw plate and planked it down before Eccentricus. Eccentricus looked feebly around. No, nobody was eating *filet Americain.*

It was all pretty raw but Eccentricus is not *filet Americain,* and he will not be downed. Within an hour he had snorted and bucked across town to the nearest vegetarian society, and even now his humor is pretty raw. Thus it is, though not entirely for the same reason, that he may drop the mantle of anonymity and the near future may witness, unlamentingly, the end of

ECCENTRICUS



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